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MODELING APPLIED IN STUDYING FOREIGN POLITICAL PROCESSES

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 1, Jan 87, pp 127-136

[Article by Mark A. Khrustalev: section chief at the Problem-Solving Research Laboratory for Systematic Analysis of International Relations under the Moscow State Institute for International Relations, candidate of historical sciences, docent: "Modeling of Foreign Political Processes"; Source footnote: The author "is a specialist on theoretical problems of international relations and foreign policy. This article is an adaptation by the author of his article in the collection "Politicheskkiye instituty i protsessy. Yezhegodnik Sovetskoy assotsiatsii politicheskikh nauk" [Political Institutions and Processes: Yearbook of the Soviet Association of Political Sciences], Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1986]]

[Text] When speaking of the scientific and technical revolution it is customary to devote primary attention to the huge successes which have been achieved in the development of technology and the natural sciences. Changes in the realm of the social sciences are cited to a much lesser degree. To a certain extent this is only natural, since the process of including the social sciences in the orbit of the scientific and technical revolution is more complex. Probably only now can we say that the realignment of the scientific-cognitive process which is characteristic of the scientific and technical revolution is beginning to affect the social sciences and, in particular, the political sciences.

This "delay" is, in our opinion, due primarily to the fact that only recently have serious preconditions for the utilization of modeling as a means of scientific research begun to take shape. Formerly this method was virtually a natural science monopoly, thus guaranteeing the natural sciences a fundamentally important capacity, that of experimenting and consequently of being able to repeatedly check and recheck the scientific results obtained. The political sciences, like the overwhelming majority of other social disciplines, had no way, over the entire period of their existence prior to the scientific and technical revolution, of making effective use of modeling, and this had a most substantial effect on the specific nature of the research method used by them.

It is a well-known fact that until recently the dominant method in the study of foreign political processes by Soviet science was the historical-

descriptive method with more or less clearly expressed elements of analysis, and, less frequently, of prognostication. The very presence of such elements, as a rule, was dependent on the subjective characteristics of the researchers. And, whereas up until the mid-1950's the scientific results obtained on this basis satisfied practical requirements to a certain degree, subsequently this situation began to change. The results gradually began to deviate from practical policy requirements. By the beginning of the 1970's this deviation was of rather serious dimensions.

Over the past decade there has been a growing awareness of the fact that the problems of the era of the scientific and technical revolution are not always subject to study by the historical-descriptive method. This is quite evident if we consider such problems as global restructuring of the system of international relations, struggle and cooperation between the two social systems in the international arena and creation of a nuclear-free world. Solutions to these problems hinge on the search for some future status of the system of international relations which will be qualitatively different than that of all the systems which have preceded it.

The continuous expansion of the range of such issues not only makes utilization of the analytical-prognosticative research method objectively essential, but is also leading to rapid expansion of the sphere in which it can be applied. However, this fact should not be understood to signal the complete replacement of one method by the other. Both methods together form a dialectic whole, the two sides of which are mutually complementary. We can refer only to a change in their correlation, especially if we consider not one individual problem, but rather research practices in general.

Once again we should underscore the fact that the tendency toward a shift in the focus of research on foreign political processes from the historical-descriptive to the analytical-prognosticative method is the product of conformances to law in the development of the scientific and technical revolution. In this connection there arises a whole series of problems having to do with the special characteristics of modeling of these processes. Roughly speaking, we can divide these problems into two groups: methodological and applied.

In the first group, the question of how to establish standards for modeling is the most serious problem. As is well known, it is commonly accepted that standardization, in scientific terms, requires that there be adherence to the assumptions of a certain theory (rigid standardization) or of a certain conceptual system which has not yet been concretized as a theory (loose standardization). No model can be completely unstandardized, due to the fact that the researcher's own scientific consciousness is in a certain sense a conceptual system. However, when a researcher uses that system intuitively, the model thus obtained may be regarded as empirical, i.e. as relatively unstandardized. In such cases it is usually said that the model was constructed on the basis of "common sense." The concept of "common sense" does not include any sort of negative content in this case; it merely reflects the dominant role of the researcher's total experience. Contrasting with the empirical in standardization of models is strict adherence to the assumptions of a certain theory. The standardized/empirical model may be regarded as a

third, intermediate class of model. At the present time it is the latter which is most often used in the modeling of foreign political processes and situations.

In order to perceive clearly the differences between these three classes of models, we must take into account not only the nature of their standardization (rigid or loose), but also the level thereof. What is meant by "level of standardization"?

As is well known, in Marxist-Leninist philosophy it is customary to delineate three degrees of knowledge, reflecting the objectively existing hierarchy of conformances to law in nature and society. These are the categories of the general, the particular and the individual. On this basis we can also define three groups of standardization: the theoretical-methodological (the general), the objective-theoretical (the particular), and the procedural (the individual).

The most general conformances to law in the development of nature and society as a whole are considered on the theoretical-methodological (philosophical) level. By their very nature general conformances to law are of an extremely abstract nature, and consequently cannot be directly "superimposed" on a specific foreign political process or situation. The founders of Marxism-Leninism repeatedly pointed out this fundamental characteristic of general conformances to law. Referring to general economic laws, F. Engels noted that "all of them have no other reality than that found in approximation, in a tendency, in the mean, but not in direct reality."¹ V. I. Lenin stressed that efforts to find answers to specific questions "through simple logical development of a general truth... is a debasing of Marxism and complete scorn for dialectical materialism."²

The path from the general to the individual (specific) passes through the realm of the particular, i.e. through those specific conformances to law by which object theory is revealed, the particular scientific theory [chastnonauchnaya teoriya]. For science in the era of the scientific and technical revolution a tendency toward increasing attention to the realm of "the particular" is characteristic as part of intensified development of particular scientific theory of varying degrees of generality (of an intradisciplinary or interdisciplinary nature). This tendency is the natural result of the process of the transformation of science into a direct productive force, a process which is characteristic of the scientific and technical revolution.

In the modeling of foreign political processes and situations the role of such a particular scientific theory is played by foreign political theory, which is an important part and applied sector of the science of international relations. Within the hierarchy of particular scientific theory devoted to international relations this theory does undoubtedly represent the dominant component. International relations theory is also a part of the system of political sciences.

The individual refers to those characteristics which are typical only of one given process or phenomenon and which, by acting upon a manifestation of

general and specific conformances to law, lend it its distinctive, unique characteristics. Consideration of these characteristics can only be carried out on the basis of what Lenin called "specific analysis of a specific situation," i.e. through in-depth analysis, which is essentially nothing more than research practice. It represents a process of obtaining and processing information which is performed by a researcher using certain technology or as a purely individual art, i.e. on either a standardized or an empirical basis. The aggregate of technical methods and procedures for the collection and processing of information is customarily called information-processing methods. Thus, we have here a third, procedural level of standardization.

All three of these levels, while interconnected, also possess a relative degree of independence. However, that degree varies. The closest interconnection is that between the two theoretical levels. The procedural level, on account of its technological nature, is somewhat more loosely connected to them. In order to avoid misunderstanding it should be underscored that we are referring only to information-processing methods, and by no means to in-depth analysis as such.

As experience has shown, in and of itself strict procedural standardization has no effective influence on standardization of the theoretical levels or of the model as a whole. It creates rather the illusion of scientific exactness and objectivity in those cases where the theoretical levels are poorly developed. Of course, on this basis we may by no means draw the conclusion that information-processing methods and procedures have no serious meaning. In our opinion their significance will increase over the long range, since it is only on this basis that it is possible to make effective use of computers as a means of conducting in-depth analysis.

The very development and introduction of information-processing procedures is a relatively new field, one which is directly connected with a transition to the analytical-prognosticative research method. Prior to the appearance of such procedures, in-depth analysis was primarily an empirical art based upon the researcher's individual abilities. Even today in this respect it remains the dominant means of working with information. This situation is the objective result of a whole series of qualities which are inherent in [soderzhatelnyy analiz], the most important of which are efficiency, flexibility and a heuristic nature, dialectical logic, etc. At the same time, this type of analysis also manifests a number of serious shortcomings, among which we should note above all subjectivism, limitations on combinatorial analysis, conformism and narrow specialization.

The ever-accelerating differentiation of scientific analysis inevitably has an effect on a specialist's professional training. In order to obtain a significant scientific result, he must concentrate his efforts on an ever more circumscribed range of problems. In the process of modeling, content analysis by such a researcher is, as a rule, of an asymmetrical nature, weighted in the direction of his own specialization. Attempts to avoid this situation by creating collective research groups by no means always yield the desired effect due to a number of factors, among which psychological reasons play a major role.

Efforts to eliminate or at least to lessen the negative effect of logical-intuitive content analysis has led to the appearance of a large number of procedures which may, with certain reservations, be characterized as corrective in nature. In and of themselves these procedures perform no analytical function, but rather are intended merely to clarify and correct the results obtained through logical-intuitive analysis conducted by specialized experts. The number of such procedures existing at the present time is already quite large, and in terms of their degree of standardization they vary from the "situational seminar" to the "Delphic technique," the latter requiring the use of computers.

However, corrective procedures have not fully lived up to expectations. They have only been able to lessen to some degree the action of negative factors. Subsequently, development of purely analytical methods has begun; such methods are essentially designed for use with computers, although they may also be applied by researchers. Their creation marked the inclusion of computers in the process of in-depth analysis. At the present time we feel fully justified in speaking of the existence of a broad spectrum of analytical information-processing procedures, beginning with "relevance trees" and ending with formalized content- and event- analyses.

To use a rather tentative analogy, we could say that the process of the evolution of [soderzhatelnyy analiz] has undergone successive stages: individual craftsmanship (individualized empirical skill); manufacturing (collective research groups and corrective procedures, with auxiliary utilization of computers); and automated production (collective research groups, analytical information-processing procedures and computers). This analogy does not presume to be exact. It is intended merely to underscore the isomorphism of the effect of general laws, although in this case "automated production" has by no means completely replaced "individual craftsmanship." Along the path of its development there have been quite a few difficulties of both a methodological and an applied nature.

The construction of a model is not an end in itself. A model should provide the material needed for planning and decision making. Bearing this applied significance in mind, we can define three of the target functions of a model: analytical, prognosticative and operational. The first assumes the description, with sufficient completeness, of the structure of a foreign political process or situation. The second involves definition of the most probable variants in the development of a process (the alternatives). And, finally, the third consists of definition and evaluation of the effectiveness and expediency of those actions which would be undertaken for the purpose of increasing the probability that desirable alternatives will occur and/or lessening the probability that undesirable alternatives will occur.

These three functions, which sum up a model's practical "yield," represent in a certain sense a complete cycle which should in principle be realized. However, this is not often attained. The arsenal of information-processing methods which currently exists is obviously inadequate to carry out this task fully. For example, corrective methods based on expert evaluations have turned out to be suitable primarily for the performance of prognosticative

functions. Without an analytical basis (and that has remained in the experts' heads) the prognosticative result thus obtained is very difficult to verify.

The development and introduction of analytical information-processing methods has made it possible to overcome the aforementioned shortcomings to a certain degree and to perform both functions, i.e. the analytical and the prognosticative. Verification of models has become considerably simpler, since there now exists the possibility of comparing the results of logical/intuitive analysis with results obtained through utilization of analytical information methods. For those individuals who prepare or make decisions, this type of models have proven to be more psychologically acceptable, since they make it possible to trace and evaluate the logic behind a conclusion.

The creation of analytical and prognosticative information-processing methods was a major step forward. At the same time this made it possible to reveal the limitations of models which utilized in-depth analysis conducted "by hand," models which were in a strict sense statistical models. Once created, they begin to "live" their own lives. In other words, these are inertial models, unadapted to the introduction of new information. For a fairly broad range of political processes this particular shortcoming was not really of significance. But in the study of processes characterized by a great degree of uncertainty and dynamism, it was of great significance.

In this connection we should note that the obtaining of analytical and prognosticative results by means of modeling is of particular practical interest precisely with regard to such processes as these, since it is under conditions of a great degree of uncertainty and dynamism that logical/intuitive analysis begins to reveal its most serious failings. These are manifested through a lack of stability [stabilnost] (the constancy of those internal factors which are determinant in a given process) and steadiness [ustoychivost] (the constancy of external factors). In practical terms this is expressed by the fact that new factors appear and the previous factors disappear, and those which remain may take on a new meaning, and sometimes a new vector. If the number and diversity of factors is great, and the process itself highly dynamic, then complete coverage of it becomes exceedingly difficult. A statistical model, though in some cases yielding a satisfactory result, is a tracking model [model slezheniya], and it can be practically realized only on the basis of a corresponding computer program.

The idea of creating a computer program for a tracking model led to acceleration of the development of formalized information-processing methods, a number of which were created especially for the purpose of analyzing foreign political processes, while some were imitations of those already existing in other scientific disciplines. At the present time we are fully justified in speaking of quite diversified technology for the selection and processing of political information by computer.

However, once the first wave of enthusiasm resulting from the utilization of formalized methods for in-depth analysis of political phenomena and processes had passed, it became obvious that the analytical potential of computer programs was very limited. To a large extent these limitations on the

capacities of formalized methods is due to underestimation of the difficulties involved in formalization, which was regarded as a sort of "engineering problem." In fact, the capacity for effective formalization is determined by the status of the theoretical, and primarily the objective-theoretical, level, which has a direct influence on the quality of methods and procedures.

Construction of a computer tracking model requires formalization on at least two levels: the objective-theoretical and the procedural. Standardization is, in turn, a prerequisite of formalization. Because what is at issue is formalization of a theory, which for this purpose must possess adequate rigidity and completeness. In this case a conceptual system is unsuitable. In other words, what is essential is a transition from loose to rigid standardization at the objective-theoretical level (from a standardized/empirical model to a purely standardized model).

In Western science, particularly American science, several serious attempts have been made to solve the problem of ensuring standardization at the objective-theoretical level, i.e. of creating international relations theory and foreign policy theory. A critical analysis of these studies has been presented in Soviet scientific literature. Here we would like to emphasize that the authors of these studies have not gotten any further than construction of conceptual system which were not subsequently raised to the level of theories. And this despite the fact that a number of scientifically significant ideas and theses were put forward. The inadequacy of the methodological base upon which these attempts to create particular scientific theories were made was evident.

Failure to create international relations theory and foreign policy theory prompted a considerable segment of Western researchers to commence a sort of "gradual" solution to this problem by means of the development of so-called "mid-level" theories (general conflict theory, integration theory, coalition theory, etc.). It was assumed that a synthesis of these theories would lead to the creation of a theory of international relations and a foreign policy theory. These hopes were not borne out. History repeated itself: efforts proceeded no further than amorphous conceptual systems.

In Western science another tendency developed concurrently. That tendency was espoused primarily by representatives of the natural sciences who had entered the field of social sciences, political science in particular. In itself this transition was undoubtedly a positive phenomenon, reflecting the integration of scientific knowledge which is typical of the scientific and technical revolution. Initially their main efforts were concentrated on the procedural level and consisted mainly of transferral into the political science realm of various types of information-processing methods which had been created and tested in the social sciences. For example, the overwhelming majority of corrective methods had been developed to meet the needs of scientific and technical prognostication.

However, quite soon these specialists became interested in the state of the theoretical levels, and especially of the objective-theoretical level. Overall, a well-founded dissatisfaction with that state gave rise to efforts to "organize" the political sciences by using natural science experience.

Essentially this led to substitution of particular scientific theory drawn primarily from physics and biology for international relations theory and foreign policy theory. No one was concerned over the differences between the objects of research in these fields. It is interesting to note that even a cursory examination of the authors of this type of "research," as a rule, will suffice to demonstrate the very close connection between a scientist's basic specialization and the particular scientific theory selected by him.

In a certain sense we could speak of a kind of relapse into those views and concepts which were characteristic of the beginning of the 20th century and which were mercilessly exploded by Lenin in his work entitled "Materialism and Empirical Criticism" Characterizing the concept of "social energetics" (an invariant of present-day "social physics"), which was fashionable at that time, Lenin wrote: "Can you conceive of anything more fruitless, dead or scholastic than this sort of debasing of biological and energy maxims, which yields exactly nothing and is incapable of yielding anything in the social science realm?"⁵

Present-day attempts of this type are being undertaken under the banner of integration of scientific knowledge, as well as under the slogan of further development of the scientific and technical revolution. One important circumstance which inspires the authors of these attempts is the fact that it seems to them that they are killing two birds with one stone: they are creating a "theory" and at the same time resolving the problem of how to formalize that theory (on the level of mathematical logic, even) simply and easily. Of course, this has been accompanied by accelerated mathematization of research on foreign political processes.

In this approach the considerable difference between formalization and quantification disappears, giving rise not only to a coarsening of, but also elimination of the fundamental qualitative characteristics of foreign political processes and situations. Mathematics has become a sort of end in itself. For a number of Western researchers it has become a peculiar criterion for a "scientific approach" and "objectivity," which are contrasted with the "ideological approach."

Above it was emphasized that the difference between analytical-prognosticative and historical-descriptive research methods cannot be made an absolute. At the initial stages of the development of any new scientific discipline intended for applied use the historical-descriptive method inevitably plays a dominant role, because only it makes it possible to accumulate the necessary sum of facts and preliminary (largely hypothetical) generalizations. Just as soon as this task has been completed a transition to the analytical-prognosticative method and to the development of particular scientific theory is essential; without this transition we cannot speak of any applied significance of a given scientific discipline.

It would seem that in those sciences which study foreign policy and international relations this initial stage of "accumulation" is already essentially complete. Their further development lies along the paths of introduction of the analytical-prognosticative research method. This does not

mean, of course, that the historical-descriptive method has lost its significance: all new facts and phenomena require and will continue to require historical description. This was and remains the "factual foundation" upon which scientific knowledge is based.

To sum up, we may state that modeling of foreign political processes will rise to a new qualitative level (which will permit, among other things, the creation of a tracking model) in proportion to the further improvement of Marxist-Leninist international relations theory and foreign political theory. One of the demands being made of that theory is that it possess sufficient completeness and rigidity to permit its formalization. Only on this basis, in our opinion, is it possible to create the initial, abstract model of a system of international relations, the "nucleus" of which will be a model of the subsystem of relations between states. Subsequent rounding out of this type of abstract model with the appropriate informational material will permit its gradual concretization.

It should definitely be noted that the process of transforming an abstract model into a concrete one is by no means automatic. It will inevitably be accompanied by the surmounting of a number of difficulties, perhaps even very serious ones, starting with certain modification of some stereotypes of logical-intuitive analysis and ending with the development of new formalized information-processing methods. Only subsequent to this will it be possible to speak of the development of a tracking model which can be realized by a computer.

Compliance with these conditions, in our opinion, will make it possible to create a computer program which will be to a certain extent the researcher's "partner," i.e. to make the transition to a human-machine dialogue system. A natural question may arise: what would be the capabilities of such a "partner"? It appears that they would not be so great as would seem to be the case at first glance. The problem is that this model, and consequently the program, is not covered by the methodological level. The question of whether it is possible to formalize that level remains acute in present-day science. There are diametrically opposing viewpoints on this question. Consequently human beings, at least for the foreseeable future, will have an undisputed advantage over their computer "partners."

Does this limitation lessen the significance of a computer tracking model? It seems to us that this is not the case at all. This model could become a powerful means for radical restructuring of the entire system for selection and processing of foreign political information, because at the user's request it would be possible not only to provide "raw material," as is currently the case, but also, and this is extremely important, to provide virtually any "semifinished" or "finished product." It would become possible to conduct experiments which have genuine practical significance. There is probably no particular necessity of demonstrating that all this would aid in the performance of those tasks facing Soviet social scientists today, in the field of political science in particular.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniya" [Works], Vol 39, p 355.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 3, p 14.
3. Ibid., Vol 18, p 347.

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CSO: 1807/199

PEACE OFFICIAL CLAIMS MOVEMENT NOT SUBSIDIZED BY STATE

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen 21 February 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,200 word article by M. Badayev, responsible secretary of the Turkmenistan Committee for the Defense of Peace, headlined "Funds From Our Hearts". He claims that "bourgeois ideologists constantly maintain that the movement of Soviet peace supporters is subsidized by the state, and that the initiatives taken by fighters for peace are done at the cost of the state. In reality, the work of this movement is financed through voluntary dues which are passed on to the peace fund by collectives or individual citizens". /6662

CSO: 1835/412

HAVANA CONFERENCE DISCUSSES THIRD WORLD DEBT

PM060913 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 87 First Edition p 5

[Pavel Bogomolov "Commentator's Column by": "Against Diktat"]

[Text] Havana--A regular ministerial-level conference of the Group of 77 has ended in Havana. Representatives of approximately 20 international and regional organizations also participated in it.

The group's activity is a time-tested form of cooperation among more than 100 developing states to coordinate their efforts on the eve of important international forums. And such was the Havana meeting devoted to elaborating a unified stance at the Seventh UNCTAD Session, scheduled for July.

The adoption of the "Havana Declaration" was the chief result of the conference in the Cuban capital. It points to the need to radically resolve problems connected with the developing countries' growing foreign debts, the fall in prices for their export commodities, and the overall deterioration in trade exchange conditions.

The task was advanced of creating a new universal system of international trade which would be part of a global strategy for overcoming the financial slavery of the so-called "Third World." At the same time, the conference displayed a general desire to limit the payment of interest on foreign debts in accordance with the volume of receipts from the debtor countries' exports. It proposed to the UNCTAD secretary general the holding of necessary consultations for talks on expanding the developing countries' cooperation with socialist states. The conference documents provide a detailed analysis of the state of international economic relations.

The conference results were an unpleasant surprise for Western adherents to the hegemonist approach to former colonies as an eternal source of cheap raw materials and manpower and a profitable sales market. A demand that the imperialist powers not resort to the vicious practice of diktat and blackmail was voiced particularly urgently from Havana. In addition, the conference adopted special resolutions in support of socialist Cuba, revolutionary Nicaragua, the "front-line" states of southern Africa, and the peoples of Libya and Palestine.

In this way the Group of 77 not only coordinated an economic action program for the immediate future but also clearly stated the developing states' position with regard to urgent international political problems. The Havana conference also repeated a call to strengthen the unity of young states which have chosen the path of independence and social progress.

BRIEFS

AUSTRIAN DELEGATION IN DUSHANBE--A city branch of the Soviet-Austrian Friendship Society has been created in Dushanbe. An Austrian delegation visiting in Tajikistan participated in its organization conference. The delegation was headed by Max Schumacher, a member of the government and Carinthian minister for Environmental Protection, Municipal Affairs, and Construction. In a discussion with K. Yu. Yuldashev, the chairman of the Tajik Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Max Schumacher proposed the most intensive exchange of environmental protection specialists. This exchange, in the opinion of the head of the delegation, will promote further strengthening of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Austria. On the same day, the delegation was also welcomed by Deputy Chairman of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers and republic Minister of Foreign Affairs U. G. Usmanov. (TADZHIKTA) [Text] [Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 1 May 87 p 3]

CSO: 1807/322-P

CZECH TRADE, TECHNICAL CENTER IN MOSCOW EXPANDS

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 3, 1987 p 11

[Text]

Many Soviet specialists in Moscow and other towns know very well the building of Czechoslovakia's Trade and Technical Centre in Chertanovo which even by modern construction standards surprises visitors with its dimensions. It comprises a closed exhibition hall (area nearly 1,200 sq.m), an exhibition foyer (330 sq.m), a conference hall for 300 people and other premises. In this building the main activity on giving Soviet customers full information about the possibilities of Czechoslovakia's economy is concentrated about which STANISLAV HRUBY, Director of the Centre, Czechoslovakia's Deputy Trade Representative in the USSR, told our correspondent.

The main purpose of our Centre like of similar Soviet centres in Czechoslovakia, is to improve maintenance and servicing of machinery, equipment and devices being supplied in our mutual trade. The following figures can give some idea of the large scales of this activity: in 1986 our countries' trade turnover, according to preliminary data, was over 13,500 million rubles and the share of Czechoslovakia in the USSR total trade volume approaches ten per cent.

The delivery volume of new, improved (including automated) machine tools, machinery and equipment, whose effective operation can be assured only by highly skilled specialists, is ever growing. In 1985 alone the Soviet Union received machinery and equipment worth 4,000 million rubles. That is why their highly skilled maintenance and repair as well as the training of Soviet specialists to operate the new types of machinery is of increasing importance.

From the very beginning of this Centre's functioning we started establishing close trade and production contacts with Soviet organizations that are using Czechoslovak industry products. Even in 1984, courses were arranged for users of our wheel tractors supplied by the Association Martimex, for operators of metal-cutting machine tool programmed control systems exported by Strojimport, etc. All in all during the first year of the Centre's activity nearly 25,000 Soviet specialists participated in its undertakings.

The exhibition, Technopol Serves USSR Economy, was the largest held in 1985 when the Centre started

working at its full capacity. The same year at the exhibition, AVIA Serves Soviet Customer, put on by the foreign trade organization Motokov, the 10,000th Avia-21 van was handed over to Soviet representatives. This exposition demonstrated highly productive types of machinery for the food industry and bio-engineering equipment. In November 1986 another exhibition was held. Its subject — Technopol Serves USSR Food Programme, speaks for itself.

In 1986 the Centre arranged 130 various measures which included the training of Soviet specialists, seminars, symposia, exhibitions and trade negotiations. The range of exhibited products expanded, from the latest equipment to consumer goods. Exhibitions demonstrating footwear, clothing, knitwear, carpets, etc. were also held.

In 1987 the Centre included many important commerce-promoting measures in its plan. In February, Skloexport held an exhibition of lighting equipment and chandeliers; in March, Martimex is arranging an exposition Hydraulics in Motor Vehicles; in March there will be trade exhibitions with the purpose of concluding contracts on clothing, knitwear, hats, carpets and furniture fabrics, and in April Exico is to hold an exhibition of footwear. In May, Chemapol is to arrange a symposium, Chromatographic Materials on the Soviet Market. In June, Artia will organize an exhibition of books and other publications of interest to the USSR. Among other exhibitions are: Motokov's exposition of LiAZ lorries and Intersigma's exhibition (spools, cassettes, record players, etc.) which will be held in May-June.

The activity of the Trade and Technical Centre will be further expanded, especially in exhibiting and operating new types of highly efficient machinery and equipment. In the Communiqué on the 42nd meeting of the session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance the task is set to assure that the mutually supplied goods are to the highest world's level and strengthen the CMEA member-countries' technical and economic invulnerability against the capitalist countries.

The Trade and Technical Centre's staff and all personnel employed in Czechoslovakia's Trade Representation in the Soviet Union are fully aware of the important role our countries' foreign economic ties play in the common task of accelerating the development of our economic complexes. That is why they do their best to ensure that the Centre's activity fully satisfies our Soviet customers.

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BULGARIAN-SOVIET PLANT FOR DRIVER-LESS TRACTORS

Moscow VESTNIK AGROPROMA in Russian No 14, Apr 87 p 6

[Article by Yu. Mikhaylov under the rubric "Agrarian Kaleidoscope of the World": "At Our Friends. 'Agroautomation'-- A Joint Enterprise"]

[Text] Not long ago an agreement was signed on the creation of the joint Soviet-Bulgarian scientific production association "Agroautomation," with a center in the city of Tolbukhin (People's Republic of Bulgaria).

Imagine this scene: a tractor is moving through a field, carefully keeping to the space between rows, but there is no one in the driver's seat. Fantasy? Not a bit. Aircraft have long since been equipped with automatic pilots. So that automated driving systems will be applied in agricultural technology as well. Incidentally, the electronic and nonstandard apparatus plant "Zena" in Tolbukhin has been producing "intelligent" instruments that lighten the labor of machine operators for the last 20 years.

We are visiting a machine shop. The first impression is that you are not in an enterprise, but at an exhibition: it is clean and orderly, and there is none of the usual noise and clanging of metal. Only a few people operate the automated lathes and milling machines, which are performing more than a dozen operations. A young worker is bending over a laser device. He is cutting a metal sheet with the help of a beam. The accuracy is superb. There are practically no metal scraps, and, indeed, additional machining is not required.

The impressions of an enterprise of very high industrial efficiency were further confirmed in the other shops. There were dozens of electronic measuring instruments, transducers and printed circuit boards on tables. Passing through hundreds of dexterous hands, small boxes come out at the end of a conveyor--these are the future brain of a machine.

An instrument with the name "Kedr" controls the work of a seeding machine. Should the seed conductor become dirty or break down, a lamp immediately lights up in the tractor operator's cab, an acoustic signal is sounded and the number of the damaged item appears on a screen. The "Usak" system monitors the rpm's of combine shafts. Every machine operator knows what a load these

parts carry and how difficult it is to pinpoint malfunctions. Now this difficult task will be taken on by electronic transducers, which will determine not only that there is a malfunction, but also where it is located. And this saves time, which is so costly in harvesting

One more article produced by "Zena" is the "SAV-M," which is a gadget for ensuring the accurate movement of a corn harvesting combine along rows. As a rule, after 3 or 4 hours of work the combine operator, as statisticians confirm, gets tired, and the speed of the harvest is decreased by a third. Installed in the cab, the "SAV-M" allows the combine to operate at optimum speeds practically all day long.

Specialists of the plant are in a constant search. How to expand the field of activity of electronics? An important step in this matter is the integration of efforts with those of the Soviet partners. Engineers, agronomists and technicians of both countries now will jointly solve problems of electronic applications in agriculture--one of the priority directions in the comprehensive program of scientific and technical progress of the CEMA member countries to the year 2000. The goal of the recently created "Agroautomation" association is to increase the efficiency of production of systems for electronic applications in agriculture and automation of tractors and agricultural machinery. The joint enterprise will organize its activity on an equally mutually beneficial basis. Participating in the association on the Soviet side are the NPO [scientific production association] for tractor construction and the NPO for agricultural machinery construction in Moscow, and their Bulgarian partners will be the Tolbukhin plant and the radioelectronics institute in Sofia.

Soviet specialists will arrive in Tolbukhin in April to begin joint work with their Bulgarian colleagues at a base of the "Zena" plant. And they have already acquired considerable experience in cooperation. In particular, this year "Zena" will begin production of electronic equipment for the first robot to be used in thinning out sugar beets.

13052

CS: 1825/161

BRIEFS

HUNGARIANS SIGN MILLS AGREEMENT—The All-Union Association Licensintorg and the foreign trade enterprise Pannonia signed a license agreement on the manufacture of cold rolling tube mills of Soviet design in the Hungarian People's Republic. The new mills were jointly designed by the Moscow Institute of Steel and Alloys and the Alma-Ata heavy engineering works. The new equipment reduces the number of the process stages two-three times as compared with existing mills. The new technology and the design of the cold rolling tube mills are patented in the USA, France, Japan, Spain. [Text] [Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 3, 1987 p 16] [COPYRIGHT: "Vneshnyaya trgovlya", 1987, English translation, "Foreign Trade", 1987] /8309

CSO: 1812/209

NEW COLLECTED WORKS OF F. CASTRO INCLUDE UP-TO-DATE MATERIAL

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 2, Feb 87 pp 60-70

[Article by V. A. Shatalov, president of the Society of Soviet-Cuban Friendship, twice Hero of the Soviet Union, under the rubric "The Revolution Continues": "Cuba: The Strategy and Tactics of the Revolutionary Vanguard. Publication of F. Castro's Book 'Collected Works 1952-1986.'" "Politizdat" publishing house, 1986, 567 pages. Compiler of the collection and general editing: O. T. Darusenkov]

[Excerpts] In an historically short period--less than 30 years--owing to the tireless struggle of its fighting and talented people under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard headed by F. Castro, Cuba traversed the renowned path from a semicolonial and backward country, which was under the yoke of a cruel pro-American dictatorship, to the first socialist republic in the western hemisphere to build a new society successfully. The strategy and tactics of the revolutionary vanguard changed in conformity with the stages that had been gone through.

In the period following the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959, several editions of the works of F. Castro appeared in the Soviet Union.(1) The present edition differs from all of the others in that, first, it encompasses a broader historical interval; second, it has a complex character, and it touches all aspects of life of the Cuban people and pressing problems in the international situation, and, third, a substantial part of the collection is published for the first time.

The new collection of the selected works of First Secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba Fidel Castro Rus includes articles, speeches, reports and interviews that cover the period from 1952 to 1986. They vividly reflect the revolutionary party and state activity of F. Castro. The published works examine the fundamental problems of the Cuban revolution, the building of socialism on the Isle of Freedom and pressing international problems, and they show the main trends and features of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary vanguard of the Cuban people--the Communist Party of Cuba.

The strategy and tactics of the vanguard of the Cuban workers changed accordingly in the socialist stage of the revolutionary process. As is evident from the content of the book, in the 1970's and 1980's the party put forth two main strategic slogans: the development of production and the strengthening of defense. F. Castro indicated that there is not the slightest contradiction between them, but, to the contrary, they complement each other. The nobler the fighting spirit of the nation, the greater is its consciousness and readiness to fight for its motherland, and the better will it work, dedicating itself to the cause of the revolution and the development of the country. The greater our production, the more resolutely do we strive for prosperity, the future and the happiness of our compatriots, so that our people will defend the motherland and the revolution with greater resolve and heroism.

New revolutionary reforms were introduced in 1968, as a result of which a greater number of small enterprises passed into the hands of the state. This measure was the result of the specific situation in the country, which found itself under conditions of an economic blockade brought about by imperialism and a consequence of the need for optimal utilization of financial and human resources, and it was also an answer to the inimical political actions by some capitalist circles that hindered the development of the revolutionary process.

It should be kept in mind, acknowledged the leader of the Cuban communists at the 1st Cuban Communist Party Congress in December 1975, that the development of the economy was not the main attraction during the first 10 years. In this stage of the revolution--and in the face of the subversive activity of imperialists, military aggression and a merciless economic blockade--the main forces of the country were directed at holding out. Although the blockade existed and still exists, the country was able to concern itself with problems of economic development in a situation of relative peace.

Our revolution, F. Castro said at a ceremonial meeting dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution in the city of Santiago de Cuba, resolutely entered on the long and difficult path of economic and social development of the country with a backward, deformed and dependent economy inherited from colonialism, and under conditions of a brutal economic blockade on the part of those who had been our suppliers of equipment, technology, projects and raw materials. We set foot on a difficult path that demanded incredible efforts, persistence and self-sacrifice: the development of 5-year and annual plans, the beginning of industrialization of the country, the training of hundreds of thousands of workers, technicians and engineers, the creation of dozens of scientific research centers and the development of stable economic relations with the socialist community.

Thousands of industrial, agricultural and social projects have been built in Cuba in the years gone by that have changed the appearance of cities and towns materially. The utilization of equipment and machines has facilitated work in all the main spheres of production. A large number of important power installations are being built or are ready to go into operation, including the first AES [nuclear electric power station], a new oil refinery, large enterprises to process nickel and textile and spinning factories; geological surveys of the country's resources and oil prospecting and extraction are

being conducted; and large metal-working plants and other enterprises of heavy, light and food industries are being erected. Work on future plans and directions in economic and social development to the year 2000 is under way.

In a speech to the first national forum on questions of electric power in December 1984 and in a report to the 3d Cuban Communist Party Congress in February 1986, F. Castro observed that on the whole the economic strategy of the party had been successful. The 5-year period that transpired after the 2d Party Congress (December 1980) possibly was one of the most successful and fruitful 5-year periods. The average rate of growth of the gross social product was 7.3 percent (5 percent in the plan), and for industrial production it was 8.8 percent. Labor productivity in the 5-year plan grew annually by 5.2 percent. At the same time, serious shortcomings and difficulties were noted in the development of the economy, and ways to overcome them were outlined.

The problem of strengthening the defensive capability of the country was always at the party's center of attention. In the course of 25 years, American imperialism conducted a policy of hostility, hatred, lies, threats and all kinds of aggression against the Cuban revolution. "The coming to power of an ultra-right reactionary clique in the United States at the beginning of 1981," F. Castro points out, "which openly began to conduct a bellicose and fascist foreign policy, once again put in the forefront the theme of military aggression against our country" (p 451). In the situation that arose, measures to ensure the security of the country that were undertaken by the party and the state leadership of Cuba, which are discussed in the book, were fully justified and timely. The Cuban people are ready to defend the revolution to their last drop of blood. Cuba cannot export revolution, and the United States does not have the right to interfere with its development (see pp 452, 460 and 472).

The book speaks of the significance of the experience with the direct aid of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, and of the fraternal parties of the countries of socialism, who in the most difficult days of the republic gave it assistance in the construction of the economy and the development of science and culture and who assisted in defending the gains of the revolution. This cooperation developed in many spheres. I shall always remember the joint successful flight of Soviet astronauts and Cuban astronaut A. Tamayo Mendez, which contributed to the further strengthening of friendly ties between the CPSU and the Cuban Communist Party and between the Soviet and Cuban people and to the increase in the international authority of the Republic of Cuba. "We will always cherish in our hearts," F. Castro emphasizes, "a sense of gratitude to the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its heroic people. In solidarity with Cuba--a country that is thousands of miles from the USSR--the internationalist dreams of Marx, Engels and Lenin have been realized, and the immortal October revolution has had a tremendous influence on the fate of our continent. Many changes will occur in the future. . . but our feeling of friendship to the nation that helped us in these decisive and critical years, when we were threatened by hunger and destruction, will live eternally. . . We have infinite trust in the land of Lenin, because over the course of more than a half century after the victory of the revolution, it demonstrated an allegiance to principles,

and it conducts a consistent international policy. Moreover, the USSR made a decisive contribution to the cause of peace in all the world, without which in our epoch of growing shortages of raw materials and fuel, the imperialistic powers would begin a new cruel repartitioning of the world. Only the existence of the Soviet state makes such a move impossible" (pp 321, 322).

It can be added that Cuba itself makes a not insignificant contribution to the cause of the struggle for peace and the creation of a system of international security; it can be said without exaggeration that this is one of the most important strategic tasks of its foreign policy, to which the contents of this book attest.

At the 27th CPSU Congress, F. Castro, an eminent figure in the international communist, worker and national liberation movements, seriously disturbed over the fate of the world, declared that the threat to the cause of peace and the danger of a war capable of putting an end to the human race with its noblest dreams is the greatest challenge today. And still, in spite of this, the irresponsible policy of imperialism, the blindest, most obsessed and dangerous reactionary force of all those that have existed in history continues, for it operates while ignoring or attempting to ignore the realities of the nuclear age. And who is able to deny that the main hope for humanity's survival lies precisely in the steel nerves, steadfast power and clear and firm policy for peace of the CPSU and the Soviet state, with its radical and decisive proposal to end the arms race, ban outer space weapons and forever eliminate all nuclear weapons. The statements of G. S. Gorbachev on behalf of the Soviet people and its party before Geneva, in Geneva and after Geneva should leave no one in doubt that socialism is striving for peace and that socialism is peace (see pp 559-560).

In one of his speeches, F. Castro put the question: Why was the Cuban revolution victorious? It is a matter for historians, he said, to look deeply into the political and social causes, as a result of which our people played the role of a pioneer, entering on the path of socialism sooner than any other nation of our multinational America. It is impossible to explain, if one is limited only to references to accidental factors or to a cold oversimplified interpretation of inexorable laws that determine the development of human society.

The entire content of this book responds to this question. In the broadest sense, it can be said that the victory of the Cuban revolution (as with any other victorious social revolution at different stages) was possible owing to the maturation of its objective conditions and subjective factors. The objective factors include the relationship of class forces and foreign conditions and the existence of a revolutionary situation. The subjective factors include the presence of an experienced and authoritative vanguard of the revolution; aggressive activity by the moving forces of the revolution, first and foremost by the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeois and others who displayed high political consciousness, organization, unity and political action; the creation of a single antidictatorial front and a massive political army of the revolution; the ripening of moral and psychological factors; the conduct of the revolution by the vanguard of a correct strategy and tactics, and the existence of the personal political experiences of the

masses, etc. All of these questions received a rather full and detailed treatment in the collection. And this experience of the Cuban revolution, set forth in this book by F. Castro, deserves the most careful study, crystallization and assimilation.

It seems that it would not be an exaggeration to say that a serious factor that ensured the victory of the Cuban revolution was the revolutionary vanguard's conduct of a correct strategy and tactics--a continuous search and intense analysis of the real state of affairs, on the basis of which conclusions are reached and decisions made, foresight in strategy and flexibility in tactics, an ability to evaluate properly the correlation and disposition of class forces not only at each stage of the revolutionary process, but also on a daily and hourly basis, and to be able to see the outlook in a mass of ongoing events. The Cuban revolution is a dynamic, indefatigable swift movement forward and into the future.

And it is no accident that when the next and 20th anniversary of the revolution was celebrated, F. Castro did not limit himself to summarizing and listing numerous accomplishments having historical significance, but he opened up the curtain to the future. "We will go forward not as a revolution celebrating its 20th anniversary," he said, "but as a revolution that is beginning anew today. If anything always has been characteristic of our revolution, it is its steady firmness, allegiance to principles and profoundly humane spirit. . . . The closest unity, spirit of respect and comradeship has always reigned among our revolutionaries. Leninist organizational principles and norms of leadership are today our dearest treasure. We look to the future having 20 years of experience and the enthusiasm of the first day of the revolution. Loyalty to the international revolutionary movement is and always will be the cornerstone of our foreign policy. . . . The road to the future will be longer than that which has been traversed. . . . The happiness and optimism this day should not lead us to an erroneous underestimate of the struggle which will confront us. Our difficulties will still be enormous, but we will be able to overcome them" (pp 355, 357).

At the beginning of December 1980, a special session of the 3d Cuban Communist Party Congress came to a close in Havana, which was held, as is known, in February of that same year. Delegates to the congress approved the party program, whose initial draft was approved in the first stage of the congress and later submitted for national consideration. Wide discussion of the draft of the program of the Cuban Communist Party took place under the mighty influence of the ideas and revolutionary spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress and the critical mood imparted to the forum by Cuban communists.

The program defined the basic strategic objective--to complete the building of a socialist society on Cuban land. Noting the historic continuity of the cause of liberating humanity from the oppression of capital, this document points out that along with national factors exceptional influence was exerted on the Cuban revolutionary movement by the glorious October socialist revolutionary movement in Russia, which marked the beginning of a new era in the history of humanity.

The program emphasizes that the primary purpose of the economic policy of the party in the next 5 years is the completion of the construction of socialism's material-technical base. It is planned to achieve this goal on the basis of a broad inculcation of the achievements of science and technology, maximum utilization of domestic resources and the advantages of the international socialist division of labor. The successful development and improvement in social production in Cuba, the book notes, are inseparable from broad economic integration with the USSR and other states in the socialist community.

As is indicated in the program, the Republic of Cuba is conducting an aggressive and purposeful foreign policy from class positions in the defense of the cause of socialism and the liberation of peoples. Cuban revolutionaries are for the unity and solidarity of the socialist community and the world communist and worker movement. Our party, the program says, emphasizes the historic and inviolable nature of friendship with the Soviet Union which is based on a community of objectives and ideology.

Communists see as one of their most important tasks the promotion of the strengthening of the gains of the Cuban revolution, the defense of the motherland and strengthening the international position of the republic. The program confirms Cuba's profound dedication to the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The first socialist state in the Western hemisphere actively fights for peace, disarmament and international security. It is for resolving historic disagreements with the U.S., the program of the party indicates, on the basis of full respect for its independence and sovereignty and the undeviating observance of the principle of equality between states. At the same time, revolutionary Cuba is strengthening the defense of its renewed motherland, and it supports a readiness to rebuff any provocations on the part of imperialism.(2)

First secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Fidel Castro, speaking at a closed special session of the 3d Congress of Cuban communists, proclaimed the adoption of the first program of the Communist Party of Cuba. He rated the program as a very important ideological instrument of the Cuban revolution, as a document that reflects the aspirations of the people and which maps out the path to the future. F. Castro emphasized the tremendous historical contribution of V. I. Lenin to the development of the theory of socialist construction. "I am completely convinced," the Cuban leader said, "that not only will we fulfill the program adopted by the party, but that we will even overfill it. . . . We are talking about taking on the historic task of developing the country and of moving ahead on the path of building socialism and communism." (3)

The program adopted by the 3d Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, and also other important decisions that are aimed at accelerating the social and economic development of the country, represent the further creative development of the strategy and tactics of the vanguard of the Cuban revolution.

FOOTNOTES

1. See F. Castro: "Speeches and Appearances," Moscow, 1960; "Speeches and Appearances 1961-1963," Moscow, 1963; "Our Cause Is Winning. Speeches and Appearances 1963-1964," Moscow, 1965; "The Power of the Revolution Lies in Unity. Speeches, Appearances and An Interview During a Visit to Chile 10 November-4 December 1971," Moscow, 1972; "The Future Belongs to Internationalism. Materials from a Trip to Countries of Africa and Socialist Countries of Europe, 3 May-5 July 1972," Moscow, 1973; "The October Revolution and the Cuban Revolution. Speeches and Appearances, 1960-1977," Moscow, 1978.

2. PRAVDA, 3 December 1986.

3. PRAVDA, 4 December 1986

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13052

CSO: 1807/271

VIETNAM-SOVIET FAR EAST COOPERATION DEVELOPING

OW181125 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1300 GMT 15 May 87

[Text] Our station correspondent interviewed Comrade Vladimir Popov, secretary of the Primorye regional party committee, on prospects of the development of cooperation between the Soviet Far East and Vietnam. Comrade Popov said:

[Begin Popov recording in Russian fading into Vietnamese translation] Relations of economic and scientific cooperation between the Soviet Far East and the SRV have been increasingly consolidated. Ship crews of the Far Eastern Shipping Company play an important role in consolidating the Soviet-Vietnamese relations of friendship and mutual assistance based on comradeship. As recorded in the initial chronicles of Soviet-Vietnamese relations, sailors of the ship (Vantilope) made the initial shipment of aid goods to Haiphong harbor in September 1955, thus inaugurating a sea bridge of friendship between harbors of the Soviet Far East and Vietnam. By making regular journeys to Vietnam, Soviet sailors have constantly strengthened friendship relations with fraternal Vietnamese harbor workers. The Socialist International emulation movement has increasingly developed. Soviet and Vietnamese dock workers have so far signed more than 100 emulation agreements. [end recording]

Comrade Popov continued: Relations between the sister cities of Haiphong and Vladivostok have constantly developed with their annual exchange of delegations. At harbors in the Primorye region, we receive fresh vegetables and fruit for the winter, and canned foods and industrial products, from Vietnam. For their part, harbors in the Soviet Far East shipped to Vietnam construction materials, foodstuffs, oil products, and other goods items needed for socio-economic construction in Vietnam. The 27th CPSU Congress and the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] have pointed out the new prospects for economic relations between the two countries. To us, this has opened new possibilities. For instance, we can supply Vietnam with materials with which to make women's dresses, shirts, and other clothing and footwear items, and receive semifinished products from Vietnam. Recently, I paid a visit to Vietnam and realized that this form of cooperation is very promising.

Comrade Popov continued: Another sphere of cooperation is vocational training of Vietnamese youths at enterprises in the Primorye region. We have made preparations for receiving the first contingent of 300 Vietnamese youths at enterprises of the light industry, wood-processing industry, forestry, and home construction sectors. We also intend to develop trade relations between

coastal areas of the two countries. We will build relations of economic and trade cooperation while paying attention to the needs of the two countries. The current task is to build joint enterprises which can exploit and use marine products and process tea, which are precious resources for the food industry. Soviet and Vietnamese scientists have cooperated in conducting research on Vietnam continental shelf. Participating in this work are Soviet Far East institute under the Soviet Academy of Sciences. They conduct research on the ocean's potential in the China Sea, with a view to increasing fish catch, growing sea products, and surveying mineral resources. Such relations between Soviet and Vietnamese scientists will be consolidated and developed.

Comrade Popov concluded: Finally, allow us to convey our salutations to all party members and laboring people of Haiphong, sister city of Vladivostok, and to wish them new successes in socio-economic development, in developing their city, and in implementing the resolutions of the Sixth Congress of the CPV.

/6662

CSO: 1825/196

AUSTRALIAN ECONOMIC CRISIS DISCUSSED

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 19, 18 May 87 pp 27-28

[Article by Alexei Ivkin: "On the eve of the bicentenary"]

[Text] It is generally believed that Australians as a whole prefer not to talk about Politics with a capital P. If one is to believe certain Australian sources, the national trait is a certain lightheartedness: "We are more inclined to think about how to amuse ourselves than how to work"--seems to be the message of popular booklets about life on the continent, as for example, "Australian Etiquette" or "How to Survive in Australia."

"Crocodile Dundee"

Personally I think it would be wrong to accept the image of Australians created by such books, especially as this image has been undergoing very rapid changes lately. It looks as if the Australians themselves have not decided who they are and how they differ from other peoples. As, next January, it will be 200 years since the first group of convicts from Britain were landed in Australia, thereby starting the European colonization of the continent, this is something that is much discussed today. Who should be regarded as genuine Australians? This is far from being a simple question. Apart from the 160,000 aborigines and the predominance of settlers from the British Isles, there are growing Italian, Greek and Turkish urban communities, as well as neighbourhoods of people from Asian and Arab countries. All these immigrants make for a very mixed demographic picture, for by no means all of them become assimilated, many preferring to retain their national traditions and customs.

The film industry has also contributed to the formation of the image of the modern Australian. The recent film "Crocodile Dundee" has been a top box-office success in the United States and Western Europe.

The story briefly is as follows. A young girl reporter from New York learns that in a small God-forsaken town in the Northern Territory of Australia there lives a crocodile hunter by the name of Mick Dundee and decides to go out there and bring back a story. Mick (played by the popular actor Paul Hogan) deliberately shows off his contempt for modern life (for instance, he uses a razor-sharp knife to shave instead of the usual Gillette). His knowledge of life in the bush is indeed great: he knows the habits of the animals, hunts for crocodiles and is quite at home with the aborigines. The American girl, fascinated by his wildness and in gratitude for his having virtually snatched her from the jaws of a crocodile, invites Dundee, who has never been to a big city, to New York. The film goes on to show Dundee's adventures in the New World. Compared with the pragmatic Americans, always looking for a profit for themselves, Dundee proves to be much more humane and noble. His reward in the film is the love of the young American reporter.

And in real life, which picture is right? Are Australians rough ignoramuses capable only of tilling the land and tending their sheep, or are they able to compete with the most advanced nations in any field of industry,

science and technology? Australia's economic situation today provides plenty of grounds for such arguments. The country has now entered a long-drawn-out period of crisis. The first to sound the alarm was the Treasurer Paul Keating in the spring of last year. He said the country's outdated economic structure threatened to turn it into another "banana republic," i.e., a raw materials appendage to the capitalist world economy.

Indeed, Australia's once flourishing economy based on the export of wheat, wool and mineral resources has come up against an iceberg—the changed structure of the world market.

Export earnings fell because it turned out that Australian factories, which had for a long time been sheltered by protectionist barriers, were unable to produce competitive goods. And the Australians themselves preferred to buy imported machine tools, computers, cars, household appliances and clothing. The value of the Australian dollar began to fall. As a result a huge budget deficit was formed and the country's external debt increased.

Last year's budget was revised with an eye to these difficulties, and cuts were made in allocations for the social services—the public health service, education, science and culture. The government persuaded the trade unions to suspend demands for wage increases.

But the situation has failed to show any improvement since the past year. Inflation is running at over 9 per cent, prices of prime necessities are continuing to rise uncontrolled, and the standard of living of families living on wages or state subsidies has deteriorated noticeably.

In this situation, and with a general election approaching, the right has stepped up its activities. It is led by the populist politician Johannes Bjelke-Petersen, Prime Minister of the agricultural state of Queensland, which, incidentally, is the most backward and conservative of Australia's states. His election fund has already reached a total of Austr. \$25 million—six times more than was spent by all the political parties together in the 1983 election campaign.

Britain plus America

Significantly, the right has borrowed all its political recipes from Reagan and Thatcher. An Australian journalist once observed that Australia is a synthesis of Britain and America.

Let us look at this assessment more carefully. Up to 1901 Australia was a British colony. To this day it is a British dominion, as it recognizes the authority of the British Crown and has a Governor-General in Canberra representing Queen Elizabeth II. Right up to the second world war, the Australian authorities sought London's approval for almost every political step. This habit continued in the postwar period as well, and led at times to disastrous results. For instance, Australia was one of the first countries to produce digital computers and sell them on the world market. But unsure of the wisdom of investing capital in this field, the Australians decided to consult Britain. They were advised to stick to the production of wool, meat and wheat, advice they unfortunately followed. I saw the documentary serial "Last Chance for the Lucky Country" on TV. It dealt with the old Australian inferiority complex, the belief that other countries did everything better than they did. According to the makers of the serial, the Australians had for a long time tried to avoid anything original, or unfamiliar, preferring to keep to things that had been tried and tested. "A nearsighted policy for which the country is now paying the price" (from the narrator's text of the serial).

Times, however, change. The once strong links between Australia and Britain are wearing thin. Australians are trying to stress their independence from the "Old Country" and even planning to change their flag, which today retains, in addition to the Southern Cross, a miniature Union Jack in the top left-hand corner. Australia's national colours are gold, white and bright green. Those are the colours worn by Australian athletes at international contests. Designers, attracted by the dazzling prizes offered by the powerful Ozflag lobbying group, are trying to combine these colours with the image of a kangaroo—the country's

national mascot. The lobby intends to choose the best design and then persuade the federal government to change the flag. It's true that some wits are suggesting a simpler solution—replacing the Union Jack with the American Stars and Stripes, as that, they hold, would correspond better to Australia's orientation in the outside world. There is more than a grain of truth in this bitter joke.

Australia remains Washington's faithful ally in the ANZUS pact designed to turn the South Pacific region into an "American lake." Despite the growing public movement against American military bases, the government insists they are necessary to defend the country, although it is obvious that in the event of nuclear war they would turn Australia into a target for a retaliatory strike. Today too Canberra is manifesting its loyalty to ANZUS, especially after New Zealand's virtual withdrawal from the pact. On major world issues, Canberra tends to wait for Washington to make its stand known, and only then take this or that step.

The relations that have developed between the two countries are largely due to the strength and power of American capital. The policy of blocs pursued by Washington during the years of the cold war paved the way for American monopolies in countries where they had not yet taken root. Australia was no exception. The Americans have largely succeeded in ousting British capital. They make the most of the Australian inferiority complex and buy up inventions and discoveries by Australian scientists that their own weakened national economy cannot fully exploit.

Throughout Australia, and especially in the big cities, the signs of Americanization are evident—from the increasing number of skyscrapers in which local branches of multinational corporations and banks have their offices down to the "McDonaldization" of Australian food, and of course the American programmes that have flooded commercial TV stations.

Canberra and Washington also have many points of contact in international affairs. Certain aspects of Canberra's foreign policy indicate clearly that not all the country's leaders are prepared or able to think and act in keeping with the realities of the nuclear and space age.

The myth of a "Soviet threat" persists in the minds of Australian politicians, especially those on the right (in opposition to the Labour government today stand the Liberals and the National Party).

Having its own say

Mikhail Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech last July was the subject of serious discussion in both parliament and the press. On the one hand, Canberra could not fail to react positively to the Soviet Union's constructive proposals for a reliable security system in the region. On the other, there were some people who seemed to think the Vladivostok initiative might mean that the Soviet Union wanted to establish a military presence in the region.

In the upshot, Canberra made plans to set up the second navy, to be deployed in the Indian Ocean.

This decision evoked a storm of criticism of the government. This was certainly not the best moment for such a step, which, according to the most conservative estimates, would cost the country Austr. \$8 billion.

In 1985 the Soviet Union signed (for only one year) a fishing agreement with the independent island state of Kiribati, followed by a similar agreement with the Republic of Vanuatu. And although the purely commercial nature of the agreement with Kiribati became obvious when it was not prolonged because of poor catches, Canberra nevertheless tried to scare the Vanuatu government with the "Red threat."

When the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze recently visited Australia, he again assured Prime Minister Robert Hawke and Foreign Minister William Hayden that Soviet policy carries no threat to the region. Moscow hopes to develop mutually advantageous trade and cooperation in all fields, other than military. Australian officials described Eduard Shevardnadze's visit as "extremely important." It resulted in the signing of a protocol on political consultations aimed at removing suspicion and mistrust in relations between the two countries. The two sides also agreed to promote

trade and scientific and cultural contacts in every way. The results of the talks were met with approval by both the public and the mass media.

Britain + America = Australia? No. This formula does not correspond to the essence of either the national character or the national policy of a unique country, a continent that is increasingly determined to have its say in international affairs. Canberra's stand on nuclear disarmament, on halting nuclear tests and the "star wars" programme, and on decolonization has received well-deserved recognition. The Labour government can be justly proud of having signed the treaty on a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. Canberra has opposed Washington's broad interpretation of the ABM treaty and welcomed the Soviet initiative on eliminating medium-range missiles in Europe. It is this policy aimed at peace and disarmament that is responsible for the country's growing influence in the world arena. And it is such a policy that an ever increasing number of Australians are calling for.

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CHINESE CUSTOMS REGULATIONS ON TRADE DISCUSSED

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 3, 1987 pp 47-48

[Article by Vladimir Ignashchenko, Cand. Sc. (Law)]

[Text]

An important role in the regulation of Chinese foreign trade which has been growing dynamically in recent years is assigned to the means implementing the country's customs policy.

According to the Provisional Customs Code of the People's Republic of China, one of the principal tasks of the customs is to control goods moving in and out of the country and collect customs duties and fees. In line with the tasks set in the Code and in other normative acts aimed at promoting socialist modernization in the country, the general supervision and organization of customs operations over the whole territory of China is vested in a central customs body known as the Central Customs Office under the State Council of the People's Republic of China. Its functions involving regulation of foreign trade operations include formulation of the principles of customs policy and enforcement of concrete measures in the field of customs operations, participation in the drafting and regular revision of the Import and Export Customs Tariff of the People's Republic

participation in the drafting of international agreements on customs issues, temporary authorization of reduced customs taxation or tax exemption in specific cases, examination of appeals and complaints about the decisions and actions of local customs organs including those charging customs duties, control over the performance of customs houses, and so on.

Among the nine departments of the Central Customs Office, the questions of customs regulation of foreign trade operations are handled by the department of customs policy research, the department of cargo inspection and control and the tariffs department. There is also a special statistical section in the structure of the Central Office, which reports directly to the head of the Central Customs Office.

The system of local customs bodies consists of customs houses, divisions and posts. All customs houses are directly answerable to the Central Customs Office which exercises centralized management over their activities.

According to the Provisional Customs Code of the PRC, all import and export goods must be brought in and taken out of the country through customs houses where they are subjected to customs control.

The traditional customs procedure includes three stages. First, in conformity with customs regulations, all goods going in and out of the country must be declared by the consigner, consignee or their agent with the following documents necessarily attached: (a) a customs declaration, (b) an export or import licence or another document certifying the legality of the given transaction, (c) an invoice with a packing list, (d) a bill of lading, a copy of the waybill or railroad bill of lading. For items liable to special customs control and assessment as of cultural value or antiquity a certificate from a competent organ allowing their import or export must be obtained. If necessary, the customs body can subject the corresponding contract, the certificate on the passage of the specific goods, the balance books and other documents to an additional study. In the cases when more than three months pass since the importation of goods into the country and their declaration to the customs, but customs formalities have not been carried out or the duty has not been paid, such goods are disposed of by the customs in accordance with the established procedure.

The second stage is customs inspection proper at the time and place set by the customs. This is done in the so-called customs zones (warehouses on merchant wharves, stations and so on) or in the process of loading or unloading. In a number of cases a customs representative may inspect the goods at the warehouse of the consigner or of the consignee at the request and in the presence of the owner of the goods. The release of imported or exported goods means the end of customs control. The release is formalized by the signing and stamping of the bill of lading or of the copy of the waybill by a customs officer, which is done only after the payment of all customs duties and fees.

The consignee (consigner) or his agent must pay the customs duty to a specific bank within seven days after issue by the customs authorities of a customs duty memorandum, upon whose expiration the authorities can not only demand timely payment of the duty from the consignee (consigner) or their agent, but also impose a penalty for any delay in payment at the rate of 0.1 per cent per day of the aggregate duty payable after a lapse of the seven-day period.

If the consignee (consigner) or his agent does not agree with the duty charged, they may file a written complaint with the customs authorities within a fortnight after the signing of the document on the payment of the duty. The consignee (consigner) or his agent must obtain the customs house's permission pending the solution of the problem laid down in the complaint. For that he must pay a surety set at no less than the sum of the duty asked for by the customs.

After filing a complaint, the customs must re-examine the case within the time set by the Central Customs Office.

If the consignee (consigner) or his agent does not agree with the decision of the second examination, he can lodge another complaint within seven days after notification of that decision with the Central Customs Office whose decision is final.

In recent years, to promote the officially proclaimed "open doors" policy, the Chinese customs authorities have made substantial changes in the traditional system of customs control by simplifying many of the formalities. Today, more than 60 per cent of all goods are unloaded ex ship or loaded on board right after their arrival, with no time lost on customs control. Foreign trade goods can be inspected by customs houses at the places serving as points of their departure or destination. In this case such goods are not inspected when they cross the Chinese border. Customs officers can receive customs declarations and perform customs inspections outside the customs zones when for some reason or other such declaration cannot be completed within the indicated customs zones.

Raw materials and auxiliary goods, spare parts and units and packaging materials brought in from abroad for contract processing and assembly or for the production of export commodities are exempt from import duty only in the quantities actually used for processing, assembly and subsequent export.

At some of the more crucial enterprises engaged in intermediate processing of semi-finished goods and located in special economic zones as well as in the so-called developing economic and technological zones, special posts are being set up on the territory of such enterprises for customs control over export and import goods.

In connection with the establishment of open zones, since July 1, 1985, official registration of special customs brokers is allowed in China with a view to streamlining the customs control system. The specific persons who fill out customs declarations on the

brokers' behalf must obtain a special certificate from the customs authorities. Customs brokers and their employees are responsible to the customs authorities and must follow strictly the aims set in the national foreign trade policy and the precepts of the Provisional Customs Code and other normative acts, faithfully abiding by the customs rules and formalities, notably in completing declarations and in paying duties and fees.

The existing tariff system is codified by two principal normative documents: The Rules on Import and Export Duties of the People's Republic of China and The Import and Export Tariff of the People's Republic of China which went into effect on January 1, 1986. The former document formalizes the main features of the tariff system and the rights and responsibilities of the customs authorities and the payers of duty. In conformity with the Rules a special body called the Tariffs Council has been set up, which comprises representatives of the Central Customs office, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Foreign Trade, the Finance Ministry, the State Planning Commission and other state management authorities. The Tariffs Council is empowered to amend clauses of the Import and Export Tariff and set provisional tariff rates.

The Import and Export Tariff of the PRC is an integral part of the Rules on Import and Export Duties and contains specific tariff rates. The Tariff is based on the list of goods generally accepted in international practice, which includes 1,011 items and 2,102 sub-items. The items are grouped into 99 chapters which for their own part form 21 sections. The items of the import tariff have two rates: the general and the minimum. Duties at minimum rates are exempted from goods coming from the states with which China has cut-rate tariff reciprocity agreements. The minimum import tariff rates are divided into 17 levels ranging from 3 to 150 per cent. The general rates are grouped into 17 levels, too, from 8 to 180 per cent. A number of tariff items are entitled to zero rates. The export tariff has only one column of rates grouped into 6 levels and ranging from 10 to 60 per cent.

Zero and low import tariff rates are meant for essential consumer goods and items necessary for the national economy, which are not produced in China or are manufactured in limited quantities. Low rates are introduced for imported raw and other materials, resources of which are limited or which are not produced in the country. Low rates are also applied to new imported machines and also equipment which is either not produced in China at all or, if produced, has an inferior technical standard.

The People's Republic of China pursues a policy that actively encourages export, and most export goods are exempt from customs duties. The only exceptions are coal, ferroalloys, rice, some kinds of marine food and traditional Chinese medical preparations.

The Rules on Import and Export Duties contain the following provision on the exemption from customs duties: respective laws and decrees provide for reduced tariff rates or total exemption from duties for goods taken in or out of special economic zones or imported and exported by joint-stock enterprises, joint cooperation enterprises or enterprises based exclusively on foreign capital, and also for goods for which the respective rules envisage favourable treatment during their import and export.

It seems that in the near future the means for implementing customs policy in China will be improved through further expansion of the network of local customs offices and simplification of customs formalities parallel with a more active struggle against smuggling now somewhat rampant, active encouragement of export, a more differentiated approach to the charging of import duties and the institution of maximum customs benefits in order to attract foreign capital.

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SUCCESS OF TRADE-INDUSTRY EXHIBIT IN CHINA HAILED

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 3, 1987 pp 50-52

[Article by Viktor Andreyev]

[Text]

In accordance with the agreement between the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Chinese International Trade Promotion Committee (CITPC), approved by the decision of the first meeting of the Soviet-Chinese Commission on Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, the USSR's trade and industrial exhibition under the motto, Peace, Friendship, Mutually Beneficial Cooperation, was held in Peking, December 12 to 28, 1986. It was the largest Soviet exhibition ever held in China for more than 30 years.

A Soviet governmental delegation, led by S.V. Kolpakov, USSR Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy, arrived in Peking to participate in the opening ceremony. During the ceremony the leader of the Soviet delegation read a message of greetings from N.I. Ryzhkov, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, addressed to the visitors of the exhibition, which was warmly received by those who attended the inauguration.

The message noted the noticeable improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, including those in the field of trade, economy, science, technology, culture and others. It confirmed the USSR's readiness to further strengthen mutual confidence, to develop good-neighbourly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation with the People's Republic of China in the interests of the peoples of both countries, the cause of peace and socialism. The message also said that there is ample opportunity for bilateral relations to develop. The 27th CPSU Congress noted that the reserves of our cooperation are tremendous. The Soviet people have the objective advanced by the Communist Party of China to modernize

the country, build socialist society in the conditions of peace. Certainly was expressed that the further development of Soviet-Chinese relations in various fields, mutual exchange of experience of socialist construction will contribute to translating our countries' creative plans into life. The message, in addition, expresses the hope that this exhibition will give the Chinese people an opportunity to learn more of the Soviet Union's successes, will broaden the states' all-round ties, strengthen good-neighbourly relations and cooperation.

Vice-Premier Li Peng of the PRC State Council welcomed the opening of the Soviet exhibition on behalf of the Chinese government. He stressed the traditional friendship existing between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union. Our countries have a good foundation and reserves on which to develop trade and economic ties and scientific and technical cooperation. We see with our own eyes that thanks to both countries' joint efforts relations between China and the Soviet Union in the economic, trade, scientific, technical, cultural and other fields have greatly expanded over recent years.

The exposition consisting of more than 3,000 exhibits was housed in one of the pavilions of the International Exhibition Centre on a total area of 3,400 square metres. Its arrangement was contributed to by numerous Soviet ministries and agencies, including the USSR Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Atomic Energy, State Committee for Foreign Tourism, State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, Central Union of Consumer Societies, as well as the Ministry of Electric Engineering, Ministry of Power Engineering, Ministry of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy, Ministry of Machine-Tool Building and Instrumentation. More than 20 all-Union foreign trade associations directly participated in the exhibition carrying out commercial and advertising activities: Avtoexport, Atomenergoexport, Vostokintorg, Vneshtorgreklama, Zapchastexport, Mashinoexport, Mashpriborintorg, Medexport, Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, Neftechimpromexport, Prommashexport, Promsyrioimport, Stankoimport, Techmashexport, Technopromexport, Technoexport, Traktoroexport, Tjashpromexport, Tsvetmetpromexport, Exportles, Energomachexport.

To better show visitors the various spheres of Soviet people's life and to fuller elucidate the topics of exhibition devoted to the USSR's national economic achievements, development of Soviet foreign economic relations, etc., the entire exhibition was divided into six subject sections. The section, Electrical Engineering and Nuclear Energy, looking into the possible perspectives of Soviet-Chinese cooperation, contained an operating model of a hydrogenerator and a Francis turbine as

installed in the Sayano-Shushenskaya hydroelectric power station, one of the world's largest, and a model of one of the largest heat-and-power turbines in the USSR and the world. Also on display were samples of modern welding equipment with plasma cutting, as well as explosion welding, various explosion-proof electric motors, high-voltage equipment for power supply systems and other power-generating equipment, including that produced by such well-known enterprises as the Leningrad Production Association Electrosila and the Leningrad Metallichesky Zavod. Mock-ups of nuclear power stations and a thermonuclear installation Tokamak-15 illustrated the development of the nuclear power industry in the USSR and the possibilities of Soviet technical assistance in constructing nuclear power stations in other countries.

Of special interest to visitors was the section, Outer Space for Science and National Economy, which graphically showed how the Soviet exploration of outer space is helping resolve not only scientific, but also national economic problems, and keep the development of outer space confined to peaceful researches - prevent its militarization. In this section were models of the first artificial satellite of the Earth, the Baikonur cosmodrome, the Vega, Lunokhod-I, and the Soyuz-Salyut-Progress research complex.

Major directions of the development, and individual achievements in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, machine-tool building, instrument-making, transport, machine building for the textile industry and of pharmaceuticals were represented by detailed stands and separate models that provided the visitors with most varied information on the steadfast development of Soviet economy, science and technology. Chinese specialists had an opportunity to learn about the latest technology for producing non-ferrous metals, hot aluminizing steel articles, of licences developed by Altai scientists among which a spline-rolling machine tool was of great interest. They could also see a semi-automatic lathe with Elektronika numerical control, whose technical characteristics were well above those of similar foreign products, measuring instruments and cutting tools, communication equipment, new models of motor cars (VAZ-2107 and GAZ-2412), models of airplanes and helicopters, as well as models of river passenger and cargo vessels. A model of the new highly effective mode of transport of the future, pipeline container pneumotransport, was presented as a promising development. Units for ultrasonic therapy of various diseases in dermatology, neurology, traumatology, and stomatology were demonstrated in China for the first time.

The largest Union republic of the USSR, the RSFSR, had a separate section at the exhibition. Various ministries and departments, as well as the Altai, Primorski and

Khabarovsk territorial executive committees participated in creating this exposition. Of great interest to specialists and visitors were such exhibits in this section as classroom equipment dealing with informatics and programming, a holographic unit, developments and devices made by students, mock-ups telling about the natural resources of the North, urban sewage water treatment and purifying installations, domestic waste treatment plants, as well as samples of border trade goods, examples of applied decorative and graphic art.

The business and cultural programme of the Soviet exhibition was enormous. Soviet scientists delivered lectures for the Chinese specialists, "round-table discussions" were held on the topics of individual sections. Documentary and advertising films, concert programmes, animated cartoons, etc. were shown in the cinema and on videomonitors. Twice a day mannequins demonstrated the latest models of the Leningrad Fashion House.

The trade and industrial exhibition of the USSR in China was of great interest to specialists who came from various provinces of the country and the Chinese man-in-the-street. More than 250,000 people visited the Soviet pavilion in less than two weeks. Zhao Ziyang, Premier of the PRC State Council, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC CC politbureau, during his visit to the exhibition said, that the USSR trade and industrial exhibition gave the Chinese people a favourable opportunity to get first-hand knowledge of the Soviet people's achievements in building socialism.

The success of the USSR trade and industrial exhibition in China owes much to the fact that the exhibition accurately presented to the Chinese people the USSR's economic, scientific and technical, and social achievements, demonstrated the successes of the Leninist peace-loving policy of our country, and also the wide opportunities available for the further expansion and deepening of Soviet-Chinese trade and economic cooperation in the various sectors of both countries' industries.

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PAKISTAN, IRAN ALLEGEDLY STOP AFGHAN REFUGEES FROM RETURNING

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Apr 87 p 5.

[Article by V. Bazarov: "By Whip and Bullets: Pakistan and Iran are Preventing Afghan Refugees from Returning Home"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Kabul--Afghan refugees are returning to their homeland. Over the last two and a half months, since the declaration of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) entitled "On National Reconciliation in Afghanistan" was put into effect, over 35,000 emigres have returned, reports a Novosti correspondent in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

The head of the Central Board for Repatriation under the DRA Council of Ministers, Mohammed Hassan Sharq, told me that "the government of the republic has earmarked greater resources for aiding the returnees." Twelve camps for receiving the refugees have been created along the national border with Pakistan and Iran. Food, clothing, medicine and other basic necessities have been delivered to the camps. The camps are supplying medical assistance and temporary lodging, and providing for the distribution of necessary documents.

"However", says Sharq, "due to obstacles erected by leaders of the so-called 'Islamic Parties' with the consent and active participation of the leaders of Pakistan and Iran, many of our countrymen are still cooling their heels in camps in a foreign land. Here are only a few of the examples of repression directed towards the refugees:

On January 17, 1987, on the third day after a unilateral cease-fire by our armed forces, more than 70,000 refugees gathered in the Pakistani city of Peshawar. They sold their belongings and changed their Pakistani rupees into afghanis. But with the aid of armed detachments of counterrevolutionaries and Pakistani police, they were returned to camp.

On January 19 a group of refugees numbering more than 300 persons was stopped in the area of Dumandai (Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province). Under the muzzles of sub-machine guns, they were transported to a region remote from the border, Mianwali in the state of Punjab. From this time onward, a constant patrol has been organized on the border with the DRA by armed formations of the "Islamic Parties" which have become entrenched in Pakistan, and reinforced posts have been established for the purpose of halting refugees.

On February 22, 800 Pakistani militiamen (mercenary border guards) were stationed near the border post of Ghulam-Khan Khala with the additional purpose of keeping refugees from crossing the border.

In March at a zhirga (meeting) of one of the clans of the Akhmadzai tribe, a decision was made to return to Afghanistan. The increasingly punitive group of "Islamic Parties" (Hizb-e-Islami) arrested the leaders and elders of the tribe. Thirteen people were imprisoned.

On March 5, ten Afghans from the Seramil camp were stopped by an armed detachment of Hizb-e-Islami. When they refused to turn back, they were machine-gunned. On this same day, a clash occurred at the Khai camp between a group of refugees and soldiers from the Itahad-e-Islami. Nine refugees were killed, and twenty people were arrested.

On March 21, Pakistani leaders moved a regiment of militia to the small town of Uravali on the border, and covered all the roads into Afghanistan in this area.

On March 26 sixty families from the Khutak and Lodin tribes, who had been living in the Naserbar camp not far from Peshawar, were forcibly returned after a skirmish with a detachment of Pakistani militia.

On March 27, two hundred Afghans from a refugee camp located near the Khyber Pass, intending to return to Afghanistan, were forcibly transported to the Sterdzhil region."

"To this it should be added," continues Sharq, "that in the refugee camps, strict regulations have been placed on movement. The refugees have not been permitted to leave their residences and go to the cities. We have received information to the effect that the Pakistani police, and also special groups of the "Islamic Parties" have blockaded the embassies of the DRA in Peshawar and Quetta, in order to prevent any contacts between the refugees and representatives of our country."

"Iranian leaders have been carrying out a similar policy," said Sharq. "Our countrymen, who desire to return to their homeland, are being forcibly moved far from the border, and a cordon made up of dushmen has been established along the border. Several days ago, information reached us that approximately 1800 Afghans who were previously issued visas for returning home have been arrested by Islamic Revolutionary Guards and will appear before a military court."

All the same, people do find ways to return. They leave secretly, under cover of night, using little-known mountain paths. But the majority must remain, as they cannot abandon their family and belongings. As is generally known, the government of Afghanistan has appealed to Pakistan and Iran to grant permission to the "Bakhtar" airline for flights which could fly out those wishing to return. This request has been turned down by Islamabad and Teheran.

"The problem of the refugees has always been a favorite theme of anti-Afghan propaganda," Sharq says in conclusion. "Now, when our government is doing all that it can to eliminate the problem, artificial barriers have been placed in the path of those who wish to return to Afghanistan. We now see that this has been undertaken at the behest of the United States, which is attempting to thwart a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan, and is building its policy on the blood and suffering of the Afghan people".

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OVERVIEW OF AFGHANISTAN'S POST-REVOLUTION POLICIES GIVEN

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 4, Apr 87 pp 119-127

[Article by D. Olshanskiy: "Afghanistan: A Revolution of Creation"]

[Text] Kabul, 1987--People write about Afghanistan in different ways. It depends on who is seeing it. In today's Afghanistan there is everything. The revolution has lifted up the centuries-old strata of human life and mixed the deposits together. The new has been closely interwoven with the old. West and East, the yashmak and the calculator, the camel and the latest model Mercedes--all this is Afghanistan. A heritage that stretches back for centuries and today's reality, beyond which stands, perhaps, the most urgent question of all: what of the republic tomorrow?

Everyone knows that the situation in Afghanistan is very complicated. But today's Afghanistan is not just the war, even though it is talked about much less. Revolution, of course, has always been strong in creativity. The future lies in it. And perhaps the main thing is to see this future, to try to discern it in the smoke of the recent explosions. The more so since much has been done in the 9 years since the revolution.

At the turn of 1987 the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) put forward a political initiative of fundamental importance. At an extraordinary extended plenum of the PDPA Central Committee in Kabul the course was set toward achieving national reconciliation and agreement in the country, and toward ending the years'-long war unleashed against the Afghan people by the enemies of the revolution. A large-scale sociopolitical process was put in motion. This is a quite new and extremely difficult and long-term cause but it is the only promising one.

The report to the PDPA Central Committee plenum by PDPA Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Najibullah noted that the party regards the struggle to achieve peace in the long-suffering land of Afghanistan as a priority and vital need. Setting a decisive course toward accelerating national reconciliation is prompted first and foremost by the understanding that the people are tired of the war that is still dragging on and are demanding the long-awaited peace and an end to the bloodshed. Today, national reconciliation is the kismet of the Afghan people.

The principles of this reconciliation are simple and can be understood by everyone: a cease-fire; the renunciation of armed struggle and bloodshed while the issues of Afghanistan's present and future are resolved; guaranteeing fair representation for all the people in the political structure and in economic life; the rejection of persecution for earlier political activity, and a general amnesty; the preservation and augmentation of historical, national and cultural traditions; and respect for the religion of Islam. Its goals can also be understood: peace and security; further developing the social accomplishments of the the people; guaranteeing the independence and progressive development of Afghanistan; creating a stable situation in the country, strengthening people's power and loyalty to the traditional friendship with the Soviet Union.

The program drawn up by the PDPA and the efforts by the revolutionary authorities in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA] aimed at achieving reconciliation in Afghanistan have the full understanding and support of the Soviet Union. CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev has noted that "we support the line of the present Afghan leadership aimed at national reconciliation and expanding the social base of the April national-democratic revolution, even going as far as setting up a government with the participation of political forces that are outside the country but ready truly to participate in the national process of building the new Afghanistan."

At A Crucial Stage in History.

Today's Afghanistan has two faces. There is the grim, fierce face of war. This comes from the past. But another face--the peaceful face of Afghanistan's future, straining toward tomorrow--is also beginning to be seen. It is impossible to judge in a one-sided way about what has happened in that country. What is needed is an objective assessment of the present and the future compared to the past. So let us examine the creative face of what has happened, and listen to the echo in the hills not only of combat actions, provoked by Afghanistan's enemies, but also to the peaceful accomplishments of the revolution, whose successes are becoming the basis for ending the bloodshed.

The roots of the revolutionary gains are to be found in the gradual but steady expansion of the social base of the new power. This is a general law-governed pattern. Revolution must necessarily enjoy the active support of the broad masses of the population. But as history shows, in life things are not so simple. This situation is sometimes achieved over a long period.

In Afghanistan the broad popular masses had never before been involved in political life. Strictly speaking, they simply knew nothing about such a life. The elite of society that was grouped around the king and his entourage lived a life that was alien to the people. The entire sociopolitical organization was centered exclusively on the capital and was of a strictly cliquish nature. More than 90 percent of the population had for centuries been illiterate. For centuries political culture had been deliberately kept at zero. There was not one single newsstand in the country at which a newspaper could be bought. Millions of people simply never even thought of being involved in the management of the state.

The average Afghan had only extremely vague ideas about the central authorities. Only an hour's journey away from the capital, only two authorities existed for the inhabitant of the kishlak [local village]: the local elder and the mullah in the kishlak. There was no government official in many districts. People knew that there was a king; how could there not be? there had been one for centuries. But by no means everyone, for example, knew his name.

The lack of any kind of developed production forces, the limited nature of communications (in a best case, the camel, but mainly the donkey and the bullock cart, or simply going on foot through the hills of Hindu Kush), the almost universal poverty, illiteracy and crying ignorance severely limited scope for people's vital activities. A person lived with his kishlak. Or was a nomad wandering along the ancient beaten paths. Life was archaic, humdrum, fixed. The passage of time had slowed down almost to a standstill. The standard of life was determined by the old saying: a camel cannot run as fast as a horse and so we tread the path determined by Allah.

People lived according to ancient ways and customs. With some qualifications that "Asian method of production" that Marx long ago wrote about still held sway; in the political sense it was characterized by periodical "frenzied activity" from above at the seat of power, (palace coups, episodic actions within the apparatus of power) and a persistent, drowsy calm from below, at the level of the village community or nomadic group divorced from the outside world. Tradition and the unwritten code of behavior and the completely standardized tenor of everyday life, and the Islamic shari'a legitimized this calm.

Corresponding to the limited nature of their lives, people's awareness was also very restricted. With the exception of a few of the normal "beacons"--Islam, the norms of life in the community, the rare order from an official of at the will of a feudal landowner--nothing disturbed this darkness. There were none of the "rays of light" that might excite political activeness or force people to think about their own participation or recognize the unrelieved bleakness of their existence. The level of everyday life determined the corresponding level of awareness.

This was the kind of situation in which the progressive forces were formed in the country and tried to rouse the people from their centuries of somnolence and raise them up to the struggle for a life worthy of a human being. In April 1978 with the support of patriotic soldiers and officers the PDPA rose up and the national-democratic, antifeudal and anti-imperialist revolution began.

The takeover of power was accomplished almost without bloodshed and was perhaps the easiest part of the revolution. The nominal structure of the previous state, which was not built on any mass political system and had already compromised itself in the public's eyes, simply crumbled.

By that time the PDPA was a quite cohesive and strong political organization. It had supporters in all the major cities, primarily Kabul, where, naturally,

the level of political activeness was higher than in the country as a whole. It enjoyed the support of the armed forces, which in similar situations (throughout the entire history of national-democratic revolutions over the past decades), regardless of their power and numerical strength, have acted as the main, and sometimes the only, organized force in society and taken on major functions.

However, the seizure of political power essentially signified only a start in creating the social foundation on which this power had to be built. I shall not discuss the mistakes and miscalculations of the first stage of the revolution, or the almost catastrophic deepening of those mistakes and calculations through the direct criminal acts of H. Amin and his clique; there has already been enough candid talk about that. Subsequently, virtually all actions by the new authorities were essentially a prolonged struggle to organize society politically and create and expand the social basis of the revolutionary order. While dealing with the destructive action of the counterrevolution the PDPA and the people's state have also followed a creative course, and they continue to do so.

Today the revolution is distinguished by its significantly swifter advance. The PDPA Central Committee 18th, 19th and 20th plenums during May through September 1986 confirmed the pivotal nature of the question of a mass social base for revolutionary development and drew up a program to accelerate the resolution of the most acute questions of the revolution and began to restructure all spheres of sociopolitical life. This is a restructuring aimed at accelerating the creative, constructive, peacemaking processes that are transforming the life of Afghan society.

The point of departure for the restructuring was a sharply critical reappraisal of much that had been achieved by the revolution. At the PDPA Central Committee 19th Plenum it was possible to sum up realistically the results of the more than 8 years of development. We emphasize that this was a question of a constructive, critical reappraisal. Much has been done but there are no grounds for complacency. The wave of criticism and self-criticism raised by the 19th plenum was turned toward the future. Its creative and purging strength lies in its creativity and resourcefulness. The guarantee of success for the revolution lies in its onward advance, its constant self-renewal, its desire to move only forward, and the constant reinterpretation of what has been achieved for the sake of new accomplishments.

The model of honesty, candidness, openness, political courage and bolshevist sense of principle shown by the 27th CPSU Congress imparted new strength to the PDPA. Today the PDPA frankly recognizes that the successes of the April Revolution can be improved upon. Consequently, it is essential to make up for what has been lost. As Comrade Najibullah has emphasized, the prevailing situation is extraordinarily complex and it requires extraordinary actions.

The Economy

Afghanistan was and is a backward country with a mixed economy. Today, the patriarchal-natural, feudal and capitalist forms coexist side by side along with small-scale commodity production and the modern public sector of the

economy. This creates a mass of difficulties and enormous confusion in economic life. At least three processes are taking place in the country simultaneously: the transition from the patriarchal-natural economy to the feudal economy; the transition from the feudal to the capitalist economy; and finally, the transition from the prerevolutionary mixed economy to public forms of production. Because of this the efforts of the party and state are being focused along two main directions: first, on stabilizing an economy that in addition to lack of internal definition is being undermined from outside by the prolonged undeclared war; and second, on developing the public economy, which over time should become the leading form of economic life in the country.

It goes without saying that this is a quite remote prospect, but already much has been done in both directions. With the start of the new stage in the revolution, some production growth has been achieved in various sectors of the economy compared with the prerevolutionary years. The volume of gross output has risen approximately 14 percent and national income 11 percent. In the field of agriculture production growth is 5 percent, and in industry it is about 28 percent. Generation of electric power has increased by a factor of 1.5 and the production of construction materials has quintupled. More than 60 new industrial projects have gone into operation. The volume of freight carried has been decupled.

The figures are eloquent: the economy is gradually being stabilized and developed. But even given all this, today 50 percent of the Afghan budget (100 afghanis = R1.28), every other meter of fabric produced, every other flat cake baked, goes for defense. The harm sustained by economic life in the country as the result of the destructive actions of insurgent counterrevolutionaries now adds up to an enormous sum--more than 50 billion afghanis.

The DRA government is pursuing a course of strengthening and expanding the state sector of the economy, which already accounts for more than 60 percent of industrial output. This is the foundation of the new, modern production forces in a country that was until recently totally agrarian, the forge for cadres in the new working class.

In agriculture stable harvests of grain crops and other kinds of output have been achieved, and irrigation work is proceeding on a planned basis; over the past 6 years the government has spent more than 4 billion afghanis on this. Water is a vital necessity for the rich and fertile but arid land of Afghanistan. The state is helping the peasants with seeds, fertilizers and tools. In recent years the state purchase prices for cotton, sugar beet and some other kinds of output have been raised twice. The very complicated process of restructuring social relations is gathering pace in the countryside. A democratic land-and-water reform is taking place, slowly, granted, but it is happening everywhere. Tens of thousands of peasants with little or no land are receiving their own plots.

We must be candid: this is not a simple matter and the course of the reform still cannot be called rapid. In addition, there are major subjective reasons for this. The sense of being master on his own land has still not been

awakened in the Afghan peasant. The transition to a new economic order is a very protracted process, and here it is further complicated by the action of fear, the threats from the counterrevolutionaries, and blackmail from the former large landowners, and the influence of Islam, which forbids taking over others' property. The peasants often simply fear to take the land, or they take it and then are afraid to work it. In the peasant consciousness the revolution is only just starting. But many advances are being made.

The cooperative movement is expanding. Cooperation is still of a mainly consumerist nature (with the help of the consumer stores the state is fighting against arbitrary price setting by the petty private trader), but the beginnings of the future can already be seen. The traditions of the communal way of life are in some places merging into collective land use. The role of the first machine-and-tractor stations on the ancient land of Afghanistan is growing.

Giving due consideration to the reality that has been formed historically, the tasks of the national-democratic revolution in the economic sphere require an immediate and radical break with the entire previous economy and the creation of a new one. At this stage the revolution objectively reflects the interests of virtually all strata of the population, including the patriotic and progressive petty and middle bourgeoisie. Common goals mean a common contribution in developing the motherland and making it prosper. The state is also interested in cooperation with private entrepreneurs and in developing all forms of trade and attracting private capital. Hence the considerable work to create conditions for development in this sector also, which produces more than half of all the country's output. Involving the private trader in the process of the country's renewal is an important step along the path to national reconciliation.

However, the revolutionary authorities are still pursuing their course of planned economic development, which is the main thrust of economic policy. The discussion of and then the adoption in the spring of 1986 of the "Main Directions for the Economic and Social development of the DRA for the Period 1986-1990"--the first revolutionary five-year plan--was an historic event for Afghanistan. This state plan defines the main tasks, rates and proportions in the different sectors of the national economy for the years immediately ahead and the ways and means to achieve them. The pivot of the five-year plan is the accelerated development and increased volumes of output in all sectors. By the end of this period it is planned to have increased national income 25 percent, industrial output 38 percent, and gross agricultural output 14-15 percent.

The tasks are, of course, large-scale. It will not be simple to resolve them: the war has diverted assets, there are shortages of skilled personnel, and there are cases of economic sabotage and attempts to take capital abroad. The heavy burden from the past is also making itself felt. For many years the previous rich masters of Afghanistan sought to make poverty and ignorance the life of the country. Their antipopular policy despoiled simple people and squandered the national wealth. According to the UN statistics, before the revolution this country occupied one of the last places in the world for the per capita level of national income. This kind of backwardness will not be

eliminated in just a few difficult years of revolution. The more so since the situation is become more complicated and because of the problem that is a common one for any victorious revolutionary party, namely inadequate experience in economic affairs and management. In the years preceding its seizure of political power the PDPA considered its main goal to be the political coup and it did not pay enough attention to developing economic strategy. Hence the flaw in economic thinking and the need to resolve many of the issues that arise "on the run," as they say.

While striving to rid themselves of these difficulties as quickly as possible, the PDPA and the DRA government are giving serious attention to questions of the country's economic development. Just consider one small but typical touch: every quarter the course of fulfillment of the five-year plan is examined at sessions of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo.

The party understands that developing the economy and satisfying the needs and requirements of the population is the key to expanding the social base of the new authorities and reconciliation in the country. But the PDPA also understands something else: the economy cannot withstand cavalry charges and voluntarist decisions. It is precisely in the socioeconomic transformations that accelerate the processes of national consolidation that we see a reflection of the irreversible nature of the gains of the April Revolution guaranteeing the country's development along the path of progress and social justice.

The Social Sphere.

Economic policy is linked in the closest possible way with social policy. The positive shifts in the Afghan economy during the years since the revolution have enabled the party and state to build up the social transformations and take the corresponding steps to improve the material conditions of the workers' lives.

Wages for workers and employees have been raised twice in recent years. The population's monetary income has risen by a factor of 1.9. The state is trying to penetrate into all the small matters in the everyday life of its citizens. Thus, it has spent large sums to provide free meals for workers at industrial enterprises and for state workers and students and schoolchildren. In order to appreciate the importance of this fact just remember that most of the population of Afghanistan eat just twice a day, in the morning and in the evening (and not all of them get even those two meals).

The free medical services system is being improved. The number of medical establishments is close to 1,600 and almost all of them have been set up during the years of the new stage in the revolution. The number of hospital beds has increased more than 80 percent and the number of physicians 40 percent. Compared with the prerevolutionary period the production of drugs has increased 70 percent, and drug imports 113 percent. For the first time in history special health centers for mothers and babies are functioning. It need hardly be said how important this is for a country where the average life expectancy before the revolution was scarcely 40 while the infant mortality rate was one of the highest in the world.

The state is paying a great deal of attention to housing construction. The attacks by the counterrevolution have led to comparatively rapid urban growth in Afghanistan; in the cities life is now safer than in rural localities and people are being drawn to the major centers. In recent years in Kabul alone the population has doubled. Naturally, people must live somewhere. During these years more than 400,000 square meters of well-appointed housing has been built using state capital investments alone. A small point: already by June 1978 people were moving into new housing built during the postrevolutionary period. That is, the revolution started to build five minutes after its victory.

One significant goal in the social policy of the revolutionary authorities is to effect a spiritual surge among the population as quickly as possible and to awaken the awareness and enlightenment of the masses. Overcoming the centuries of political incompetence starts literally by wiping out illiteracy. Proceeding from the Leninist thesis that an illiterate person is outside politics, the new authorities have put forward the slogan "The People Need Knowledge Like a Soldier Needs his Rifle for Battle!" And people have taken up this slogan. Today more than 20,000 courses and circles are in operation within the country to wipe out illiteracy among almost half a million people. People gather wherever necessary--at someone's home, in the party committee, in the factory, in the mosque--to learn to read and write. The primer is the latest edition of the newspaper. Examinations are given on the ability to read the latest party and government decisions and the reports on the course of the national reconciliation.

The number of general education establishments is growing: in 1986 some 6,000 schools opened their doors for 725,000 children. There could have been more but more than 2,000 school buildings have been destroyed by the counterrevolution and are unsuitable for use. Free tuition, last year alone for 4 million, is provided at the "Motherland" boarding schools for children of those who have perished in the revolution; they are totally funded by the state.

A new university in the eastern border region of Nangarhar, the first state medical institute in Kabul, three new faculties at Kabul University... Training for young specialists and skilled workers in today's Afghanistan is offered in more than 100 specialties. One important detail: as it strives to expand the social base and guarantee real social justice, the state is accepting the children of workers and peasants for admission to the higher educational establishments without entrance examinations.

Great attention is being paid to cultural development. For the first time in Afghanistan's history there are now creative unions for workers in the arts and for writers and journalists, the DRA Academy of Sciences has been founded, and the first academicians have appeared. Folklore is being carefully studied and preserved. Radio and television are being developed rapidly. In a country where 10 years ago the word "movie theater" was unheard of a feature film ("Soldier of Badur") has been produced that has won several prizes at international film festivals.

Some 36 dailies and weeklies along with 48 journals are being published in the DRA with a total circulation of half a million--13 times larger than before the revolution. The simple facts tell the story of the development of book publishing: whereas in the 37 years of the reign of Zahir Shah a total of 107 titles were published, in a 6-year period alone in the new stage of the revolution the number has been 384 titles with a total print run of 818,000.

The sociopolitical changes cannot be truly profound and irreversible if they are not underpinned by a spiritual restructuring and an emancipation of people's consciousness. It is sometimes said that the April Revolution is a revolution of enlightenment. This is quite correct. Since 1978 the number of state libraries in the country has doubled. A new and previously unseen phenomena has appeared--the workers' libraries (and already there are about 500 of them) set up by the trade unions. In the fall of 1986 UNESCO awarded the DRA a special medal for successes in wiping out illiteracy. A culture of a revolutionary people is appearing literally before our very eyes, absorbing the best from the legacy of history and the many tribes and nations of Afghanistan and combining tradition from the past with the new tradition ushered in by today's revolution. A special kind of spiritual fusion is taking place, a foundation for the further restructuring of society and a bulwark for the revolution in the minds and hearts of millions of people and their concrete actions.

The national question is a very important aspect of the young state's social policy. It is of vital importance for a country in which more more than 30 nationalities live and in which more than 20 languages and dialects are spoken. The revolutionary authorities are striving to guarantee true equality for all nations, nationalities and tribes, large and small. Special attention is being paid to the most backward, remote and outlying regions, namely, Hazaza, the zone where the nomadic tribes wander. Economic aid is also significant there, along with cooperation in the development of trade and the traditional crafts, help in obtaining education, and much else. Suffice to say that during the years of the revolution the number of children from national minorities studying in educational establishments within Afghanistan and abroad has sextupled. For the first time (again, for the first time!) a start has been made on teaching in the languages of the national minorities. Thousands of schoolchildren are learning to read and write in Uzbek, Turkmen, Baluchi, Urdu and Punjabi.

Our Afghan friends have great plans for developing the social sphere. During the five-year plan that is just starting housing construction will double and it is planned to raise wages for workers and employees in state enterprises and establishments and increase pensions. Allocations to develop public health will increase by a factor of 2.6 and the number of hospital beds will increase 25 percent. The number of children who will be able to go to school will more than double. Even 9 years ago all this would have been inconceivable.

The social policy of the PDPA and the revolutionary state is aimed at involving each group and stratum of the population in the building of a new, peaceful life and making society cohesive on the basis of national-democratic ideals.

The New Political System.

This is perhaps the main strength and, as the Afghans themselves think, the main gain of the revolution. The democratic political organization is the instrument for resolving today's tasks and the base for the country's further development. The new, mass association of Afghan patriots--the DRA National Front--occupies a most important place within it. The Supreme Extraordinary Commission on National Reconciliation has been set up within its framework. Its sections in the corresponding Front councils are operating in all provinces, rural districts and administrative regions.

The nucleus of revolutionary Afghan's political system is the PDPA, which now numbers more than 165,000 members and candidate members within its ranks. It is apropos to recall that at the moment when power was seized in April 1978 its membership was 18,000. In the intervening years the PDPA has grown not only quantitatively but also qualitatively and has become the guiding force in the development of Afghan society. Its social base is being reinforced and increasing numbers of workers, peasants and artisans are to be found in its leading organs. The PDPA is increasing its influence in the kishlaks, among the nomadic population, and in the remote regions of the country difficult of access.

The PDPA is rallying about itself all progressive, patriotic forces, relying on the activity of the National Front, which includes sociopolitical organizations representing the interests of the various strata and groups in society. During the 5 years of its existence the Front has become a truly mass organization numbering about 1 million people. It was noted at the 2nd Front Congress that took place in January 1987 that over the past 5 years the organizations united within it have grown significantly and increased their influence in the masses. This can be seen from the following facts.

The Democratic Afghan Youth Organization [DAYO] has grown from 5,000 to 200,000 members. Young people are acting increasingly as the sponsors of many patriotic initiatives. These include the mobilization of DAYO members within the ranks of the armed forces under the slogan "Volunteers for the Army," the creation of shock labor brigades within the framework of the initiative "The Youth of Afghanistan: Bulwark of the Five-Year Plan," the recruitment of more than 6,000 people for the student labor brigades, providing leadership for the 150,000-strong pioneer organization, setting up public order brigades, sanitation detachments, organizing classes to wipe out illiteracy... It is impossible to list them all. Young people are giving their energy generously for the revolution and there are simply no tasks that are not "priority" tasks. Today its most important cause has become involvement in achieving national reconciliation. The DAYO members are teaching peace lessons in the schools and colleges and among the inhabitants living in apartments in cities and those in the kishlaks, and they are developing work on territories not controlled by the authorities.

The organized democratic women's movement has grown from 3,000 to almost 60,000. Today it is represented by the All-Afghan Council of Women--a broad-based democratic organization that has set itself the priority task of

activating work at the local level and awakening the awareness of Afghan women. This is not an easy task in a Muslim country even the question of removing the yashmak has not yet been resolved. This might lose a woman the respect of her acquaintances and lose her her friends and relations, and sometimes even her life.

Problems large and small arise every day. but each new day also brings successes in resolving many questions. The women patriots of Afghanistan are making a significant contribution in the development of public health, education and culture. The All-Afghan Union of Mothers, Widows and Orphans has concerned itself with caring for the near and dear of those who have given their lives for the cause of the revolution. Women are sometimes also replacing men in military affairs: in some regions women's local defense detachments are operating.

The DRA trade unions are playing a significant role in the National Front. Over the past 5 years their membership has grown from 28,000 to 350,000, and they are the combat detachment of a young and rapidly growing working class and the industrial future of Afghan society.

The National Front also includes the DRA peasant cooperatives (this association is still quite small but already marked signs of political activeness are being seen in some of the peasants), the Economic Consultative Council, the Chamber of Commerce, which organizes national traders and entrepreneurs, and the creative unions, which unite the most active part of the leading intelligentsia. The National Front also unites the traditional organizations reflecting links that have been established for centuries. They include, for example, the Supreme Council of Muslim Theologians (the Islamic clergy in Afghanistan), the Supreme Council of the Jirgah in the border regions--their main consultative organ (the word "jirgah" literally means "circle," a broad-based council of authoritative people that meets to resolve vitally important issues. The popularity of the jirgah has been seen throughout the entire history of Afghanistan. They spring up everywhere. For example, in the country's bazaars prices are regulated by jirgahs of the traders themselves. There are jirgahs of butchers, manufacturers, greengrocers and so forth--author's note), and other similar organs that are influential among the popular masses. The PDPA and the country's government are encouraging the creation of new sociopolitical organizations expressing the interests of the various strata of society. There are only two mandatory conditions: the laws of the DRA must be observed and they must be able through their activity to achieve the patriotic and progressive ideals of the national-democratic revolution. As was noted at the PDPA Central Committee Extraordinary Plenum, in the process of the general national reconciliation that has been initiated great importance is attached to involving the leaders and all authoritative figures, particularly in the zones where the Pushtu tribes live, and also in Nuristan and Hazara, in cooperating with the popular authorities in allowing groups that maintain their neutrality to set up their own local organs of power.

The National Front unites the most varied kinds of people, and this helps to extend the social base not only for today's but also future transformations. In carrying out this task the National Front has become a most active force in

creating the new statehood. In 1985 the DRA started to hold elections for the local organs of state power and management in all the provinces. A system of jirgahs (councils) was set up in all the kishlaks, districts, regions and provinces, made up of representatives of the people, and their executive committees are the direct instrument through which needs are satisfied and decisions made on the population's urgent and vital questions. The National Front played a decisive role in setting up this integrated system of popular power, which is unprecedented for Afghanistan. Its representatives made the preparations for and conducted the elections and its departments offered candidates for election as deputies to the councils; they are now helping them in every possible way.

The final stage of the elections was a notable event in the sociopolitical life of the people and in establishing the new political system. Creation of the local jirgahs reflected the strategic line of the PDPA toward merging traditional forms of popular power that are held dear by the population and are usual for it with the urgent tasks of revolutionary development. The fact is that in Afghanistan the traditions of the community and family and tribal democracy have deep roots. Feudalism was unable to supplant them and capitalism did not affect them. For centuries the fate of the family, the tribe, the nomad camp or the kishlak was decided by a general gathering, council or jirgah of the wisest and most worthy and influential people. In contrast to a nominal monarchy or a Daoud-type pseudorepublic, the real Afghanistan has always been a country of jirgahs and direct communal democracy. People are used to trusting their own local jirgahs.

Moving to meet the masses halfway, the party and government have not simply restored the institution of the jirgah but have also given it new, real state meaning. The essence of PDPA strategy at the present stage of the national-democratic revolution also includes strengthening and expanding revolutionary power by transferring it to the people and through the broadest possible democratization. This is yet another way to achieve national reconciliation. Following the national discussion of the DRA Law on the Local Organs of Power, it was accepted not only by the Revolutionary Council but also the Loyah Jirgah--the traditional Great Council of the country, the Afghans' supreme organ of power for centuries. The Supreme Jirgah of the DRA border tribes (September 1985) and the Great Jirgah of the Free Pashtun Tribes (April 1986) approved it as sanctifying the ancient traditions. The jirgahs, from the local jirgahs to the Loyah Jirgah, have now become the everyday norm and standard of state-political life in the DRA.

Organs that are traditional in form are attractive for broad strata of the population. The popular elected officials include representatives of all the majority and minority nations and nationalities in the country, the workers, peasants, craftsmen, intelligentsia, private entrepreneurs, traders and the armed forces. Very many of them retain their traditional authority as tribal chiefs and elders and religious figures. Neither is it unknown for women to have been elected to the jirgahs.

The varied nature of the social, age, national, professional and educational makeup of the deputies is overridden by what is paramount, namely, their

common interest in resolving as quickly as possible the very acute problems in the country's development and in Afghanistan's peaceful advance.

The revolutionary popular-democratic order is in no way a dictatorship of the party. It is a dictatorship of the broad strata of the population who through their joint efforts are resolving the tasks of national-democratic development. Traditional forms are being filled with new, revolutionary substance and becoming the instrument of progress and achieving peace and calm and prosperity on Afghan land.

Foreign Policy

With every passing year the authority of the DRA in the international arena is growing and its international recognition expanding. The DRA has now established diplomatic relations with 80 states. The PDPA maintains links with 135 communist, workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties and national liberation movements and organizations. This is proof of the solidarity of leading forces and revolutionary mankind with the Afghan people. It is a guarantee that the young revolution is not alone in the face of the attacks made by its enemies. The voice of revolutionary Afghanistan is being joined not only by friends but people in many countries who are simply objective.

Two lines predominate in the young state's foreign policy. The first is the desire to achieve peace and tranquility in the region and settle the Afghanistan situation. The second is the all-around development of friendly, good-neighborly relations with the USSR.

The DRA's proposals for a peaceful, political resolution of the so-called "Afghan problem," artificially fanned by hostile propaganda, are well known. During talks with Pakistan in Geneva the Afghan delegation has taken a very constructive stance, trying to make each round of the talks a stage in a final settlement. DRA foreign policy propaganda is explaining the aims and tasks of the revolution and appealing to the peoples of neighboring countries for peaceful coexistence and noninterference in each other's domestic affairs. Unmasking the lies of imperialist propaganda the PDPA and the DRA government are striving to bring back to the motherland the so-called "Afghan refugees"--those inhabitants of Afghanistan who have been deceived or taken by force into Pakistan and Iran. The line of national reconciliation is being consistently pursued, even going as far as setting up a government that includes political forces that are outside the country but are ready really to participate in the nationwide process of building a new Afghanistan.

Speaking on 3 January 1987 at a session of the Supreme Extraordinary Commission on National Reconciliation, the PDPA Central Committee General Secretary called on all Afghans to become involved in the process. Speaking on behalf of the party, the Revolutionary Council and the country's government he said the following: "We are moving toward reconciliation with all the honest patriots of Afghanistan regardless of their previous political views, offences and enmity. We are moving toward reconciliation with political parties, groups and factions. We are prepared to accept back in the motherland all who were unable to join us earlier. We are moving toward reconciliation with all armed formations within the country... We appeal to

all Afghans living in foreign countries to return to the motherland. As we appeal to them, we call on all honest patriots to become involved in the building of a new life in their own country. We do not exclude from the process of national reconciliation the Islamic organizations and other political groupings, or the leaders of armed formations acting from abroad."

The process of national reconciliation that has started in Afghanistan is an unusual thing in world politics. But it is a reflection of the new political philosophy and the new political thinking, a unique historical instrument in breaking the impasse in regional and internal conflicts. The peace program for Asia proposed by M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok, the postulates of the Delhi Declaration on the principles for a world free of nuclear weapons and force, the national reconciliation in Afghanistan, the quickening pace of talks between DRA and Pakistani delegations in Geneva, and the creation of conditions for the return of the Soviet warrior-internationalists now in Afghanistan to their motherland are all stages along the highway leading to peace and prosperity in this unsettled region.

Traditional friendship with the USSR occupies a special place in DRA foreign policy. In February 1921, at a time that was difficult for the new Russia, a treaty on friendship and cooperation was signed between Afghanistan and Soviet Russia. At that time V.I. Lenin said prophetically wrote that "... Russia will always remain the first friend of the High Afghan State for the good of both peoples" (Complete Collected Works, Vol 52, pages 318-319).

Afghan-Soviet cooperation, fraternal friendship and selfless international Soviet aid to the Afghan people is an independent subject. Today this friendship is not merely a noble historical tradition but a vitally important necessity for the DRA. It serves as a reliable guarantee for the existence of Afghanistan as a free, peace-loving, nonaligned state. At the same time it is a source of economic progress. With help from the Soviet Union since 1950 close to 200 economic projects that are of decisive importance for the development and consolidation of the Afghan economy have been built in Afghanistan. They include first and foremost state sector enterprises that produce more than 60 percent of industrial output. Three-fifths of the modern concrete and asphalt highways have been built with help from the USSR.

Friendship with the Soviet Union also means education for the young working class in Afghanistan. More than 90,000 specialists and skilled workers have been trained at cooperation projects organized by the two countries, in the USSR, and in training centers built in Afghanistan with our country's assistance.

Friendship with the USSR is also essential for the DRA for trade. Its rates are growing and about 65 percent of Afghanistan's foreign trade turnover is effected through barter with the USSR.

This is all particularly important now because since the victory of the April Revolution the capitalist countries and some international organizations have completely halted financial and technical aid for the DRA. And incidentally, this aid is worth a special mention. The things they were supposed to do to help Afghanistan: the United States, the FRG, Japan, France... The projects

that were publicized! But in sum, this was all just talk, as they say. The sands of Helmand, called "death valley" by the people, have remained dead without the long-expected water. This is only one example of the uncompleted projects with "help" from the West.

Help from the USSR, however, is the burgeoning oasis in the Jalalabad irrigation scheme--the "valley of plenty," the "pearl of Afghanistan." It is the highly skilled specialists trained by the Kabul Polytechnical Institute, the "road of life" through the Salang Pass, the output from the Jangalak Plant, the Kabul Housing Construction Combine, the Mazar-i-Sharif Nitrogen Fertilizer Plant, and dozens of other examples. Real examples.

Soviet aid has increased palpably since the start of the new stage in the April Revolution. Soviet warrior-internationalists have staunchly defended the revolutionary people against the intrigues of imperialism, counterrevolution and regional reaction. In the active, positive balance of today's revolution their contribution is enormous. And it is difficult to find the words to describe the gratitude of our Afghan friends.

Friendship with the USSR is a strategic direction in all DRA policy. In each establishment and enterprise of the state sector and the mixed sectors Afghan-Soviet friendship clubs operate, and propaganda of this friendship has been developed broadly and the people indoctrinated in the international spirit. Today every Afghan knows about the international duty that Soviet people are carrying out in the DRA. But perhaps something else is also important: the growing understanding by the people of their international duty to the USSR and the world revolutionary movement. At the PDPA Central Committee 19th Plenum the party general secretary Najibullah said: "We say it candidly: by international duty we have come to understand the duty of the USSR toward Afghanistan. But does not Afghanistan also have an international duty? Up to now we have regarded international duty only as one-sided aid. And is it the nature of Afghans only to take? It is high time that we recognized that our international duty is to hasten normalization of the situation within the country. And this is an obligation that we must fulfill more quickly!"

And these are not mere words from some high tribune. Refracted through everyday life, they are being expressed in the concrete actions of simple people. Fact: in May 1986 airport workers in the city of Herat held a regular political study session. During the examination of what was going on in the world the talk turned to Chernobyl and the courage of those who fought the fire and were involved in the cleanup of the accident. And immediately the thought was to help their brothers--to collect money for the Chernobyl aid fund. First those attending the meeting gave what money they could. Then they started to get others to join them. Various amounts were given. But, of course, ultimately, it was not a question of money. It was a question of the sense of brotherhood that our Afghan friends feel for the Soviet people. This is internationalism in action.

The visit to the USSR by the PDPA Central Committee General Secretary Najibullah in December of last year was a new contribution to the dynamic development of the historically good-neighborly relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. This visit took place at a crucial stage in the

history of the new Afghanistan, when the principles of the national-democratic revolution were filled with new content and when the the PDPA had proclaimed the course of national reconciliation. The talks that took place confirmed the existence of favorable conditions for further deepening cooperation between our countries on the principles of full equality, mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and noninterference in each other's domestic affairs. The visit to the DRA by CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze in January 1987 was a new confirmation of the complete mutual understanding between our countries and our unity of views on the way to resolve the problems surrounding Afghanistan.

Afghanistan lives, its economy is developing, social transformations are taking place, it is building a democratic political system and pursuing an active foreign policy. Today's Afghanistan is a country of creativity, a country striving for peace.

The main task for the PDPA and the DRA government has been and remains national reconciliation and the establishment of tranquility, peace and security in this ancient Afghan land. It is precisely to this general line that all the creative tasks being resolved by our Afghan friends are subordinated.

It would be naive to think that the path on which revolutionary Afghanistan has set forth will be easy and serene. It has too many secret and open enemies both within the country and beyond, all trying to frustrate the process of national reconciliation by the long-suffering Afghan people. These enemies resort to any kind of provocation and to violation of the cease-fire that has been announced, and they are preventing those who are ready to resume a peaceful life from returning to their motherland. There are many difficulties. However, the PDPA and the revolutionary authorities are fully resolved to safeguard the peace for the people, guided by a new political philosophy and a new political thinking.

"In taking such a serious and crucial step," comrade Najibullah has said, "the party and the revolutionary authorities are guided by the highest interests, namely, the interests of the people, present and future generations, and concern to protect life on Afghan land. The war in our land has already dragged on for 8 years. During those years tens and hundreds of thousands of people have been killed and wounded and maimed and colossal damage has been done to the economy and to culture, and to our people. We are able to take this peace-loving step because we are stronger than ever before. We have created a solid political system in which millions of people are involved. We have organized patriots in the National Front and have helped to unite young people and the representatives of all professions and social groups and strata of the population. We have created a new state capable of defending itself and we have roused up and recruited tens of thousands of people to manage the country. The first revolutionary five-year plan has been drawn up and is being fulfilled. We have strong, loyal and reliable friends--the Soviet Union, the socialist states, the nonaligned countries and progressive forces. They always help and will never leave us in the lurch."

The process of national reconciliation in Afghanistan is still only gathering strength. Jirgahs for peace have already taken place in hundreds of kishlaks. Thousands of people have overcome considerable difficulties and returned to the motherland and to creative labor.

Even if they are still not great, today's successes testify to the main thing: the revolution is irreversible. It is thrusting toward the future and it is for this shining future and for peace in their land that the people are ready to overcome all difficulties and hardships. Progress will not end. People who inspired with faith in the future are invincible. The traveler does come to the end of the road.

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AFGHAN YOUTH DELEGATION IN MARY OBLAST

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen 12 February 1987 carries on page 4 a 200 word TurkmenINFORM report headlined "Delegation of Afghan youths in Turkmenistan" on the visit to Mary Oblast of a delegation from the Herat Province organization of the Democratic Organization of Afghanistan Youth headed by Frazov Akhmed Frazo, secretary of the APDP Herat Gorkom. The Afghans became "acquainted with work organization among oblast youths and how they participated in the oblast economy and the ongoing reconstruction in the country". The report adds that this visit reciprocates the visit of a Mary Oblast youth delegation to Herat Province at the beginning of this year. /6662

CSO: 1835/412

CAIRO CORRESPONDENTS ON EGYPTIAN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Apr 87 p 6

[Article by IZVESTIYA special correspondents D. Velikiy and V. Skosyrev: "When the 'Khamsin' Blows"]

[Text] Cairo-Moscow--Herodotus described Egypt as the gift of the Nile. This remark by the "father of history" is perhaps today just as true as it was more than 2,000 years ago. A narrow strip of land irrigated by the waters of a great river that nourishes and feeds 50 million Egyptians. The rest of the country's territory is sand.

A strange sensation seizes the person traveling for the first time across the Libyan desert from north to south. A yellow wilderness: not a shrub, not a tree. Just as in the time of the pharaohs, the sandhills are indifferent as they slowly change their shape under the influence of the wind. When it grows dark the feeling of desolation grows even stronger. Only the regular drone of the tires on the asphalt and the blinking of the "cats' eyes"--the little reflecting pebbles embedded in the road surface--remind you that man long ago mastered the sands by laying down the modern highways across them.

Lights gleamed in the distance, the flashing Arabic letters of the advertising billboards. We were traveling to Cairo. Blank walls made from light-colored stone, low houses with darkened windows, the rare passerby. We thought: it is only nine in the evening, the capital must go to bed early. But 10 minutes later we got caught for a long time in a traffic jam. No, Cairo was not about to go to sleep. Streams of cars were moving downtown, rushing along the piers between multistory buildings and numerous mosques, flying over the bridges across the Nile, unable to spread out on the narrow channels in az-Zamalik and the other fashionable quarters.

Further on we had to go along the waterfront. We got out of the car and stood on a parapet. The voices of the "Bonnie M" group floated across from a passing steamboat, and in the almost still oily-black water we could see the twinkling lights from the skyscraper hotels built after the proclamation of "infitah"--the "open door" policy initiated back in Sadat's time and continued by the present government.

Much has been written about Cairo and everyone probably has his own impressions. You expect to see an ancient city in which, Kipling's famous aphorism notwithstanding, the features of East and West have met and become closely intertwined. And instead you arrive in a capital that is built mainly in the European style. Some areas such as Heliopolis can boast green squares and brilliant store windows and boutiques Paris style.

But Heliopolis is not all Cairo. Not far from the citadel raised to Sultan Salah-ad-Din there is a cemetery where the native Mamelukes are interred--the descendants of the slaves who ruled the country for 250 years. This cemetery could serve admirably as yet another historical site but tourists do not go there, and there is a reason for this. It would simply not be safe for them. The fact is that the poor and those who live outside the law have adapted the burial vaults of the nobility of the Middle Ages as places to live.

Of course, Cairo has no monopoly on poverty. It is much more obvious in many other capitals in the developing countries. But in Egypt the "infitah" gave the "green light" to the inflow of foreign capital and has widened the gap between the elite and the lower classes. The poor have become poorer.

Under President Nasser "big money" tried not to flaunt itself. After his death the parasitic bourgeoisie associated with Western capital crawled out from under the cracks and frantically started to enrich itself. Some of them made a fortune and then hurried to turn it into real estate in Europe or America.

In England to this day the gossip about the fate of London's Harrods store still goes on. Harrods was regarded as one of the notable attributes of the British business world, like Lloyds or the London Stock Exchange. Harrods offered goods only of the finest quality and at prices that only substantial people could afford. And now this symbol of solidity and prosperity in trade has been bought up by foreigners. They turned out to be--can you guess?--Mohammed Fayed and his brothers, representatives of the new generation of Egyptian millionaires.

Food whets the appetite. After gobbling up Harrods Mohammed Fayed announced that he wanted to acquire nothing more or less than... Windsor Castle, a residence of the English queen. The newspaper AL-AHRAR reports that Fayed explains his unusual wish by the fact that, since he is an Egyptian he fully appreciates the beauty of the nation that gave rise to an ancient civilization and therefore intends to make the castle into a museum.

In this connection AL-AHRAM publishes a letter from one of the millionaire's compatriots in which it is stated that as an Egyptian, Fayed could better appreciate a feeling of patriotism by offering the national economy money for some project in the Arab Republic of Egypt. The voice of this newspaper reader is in this case the voice of many citizens in the country. They are not only disturbed by the morals of the super-rich but are also asking the following question: what has happened to the billions that Egypt got in the form of loans after Sadat made a separate deal with Israel?

Washington rewarded Cairo very generously for its abrupt change of course. After Israel it became the second largest recipient of U.S. aid. According to the NEW YORK TIMES in the 10 years up to mid-1986 it received \$18 billion. And now it is becoming clear that these funds were not used to build even a single factory that makes nonmilitary goods. At the same time, Egypt's debts to creditors in the West amount to \$40 billion, according to the press.

By proclaiming infitah the government expected that a fresh flow of foreign investments would reassure national entrepreneurs. In fact, for many of them this rain turned out to be a withering khamsin--the wind of the desert that shrivels the leaves on Cairo's boulevards. A telephone call was recently received at the press office. The call was from a headwaiter who had been fired from one of the restaurants in Cairo. He wanted to work. He did not care what he did. He did not care where. He had obtained a telephone listing of foreign journalists in Cairo and was telephoning them all in turn.

Perhaps in this position of being unemployed there would have been nothing unusual, were it not for one circumstance. It turned out that the restaurant in which the former maitre d'hotel had worked had been ruined, squeezed out by a competitor representing a joint Egyptian-U.S. firm.

Our interlocutor explained the situation: "He was loaded with dollars and he used them to smash us. All we had was Egyptian pounds and no credit."

This assessment of strength made by the former maitre d'hotel perhaps offers a good characterization of many of the processes taking place in the Egyptian economy. Often they come down to a simple formula: the U.S. dollar smashes the Egyptian pound and at the same time those who have no dollars, not to mention the fact that things are bitterest of all for those who have neither dollars nor pounds.

Crisis factors in this new force were discernible early this year when, according to AFP, currency reserves fell to such a low level that there was not enough money to pay for a week's worth of imports. Foreign banks had stopped financing major Egyptian projects.

And such projects do exist. For example, over the next 5 years it is planned to create a permanent farming zone in the desert of the Sinai Peninsula and build settlements. It cannot be said that these plans are unrealistic. The administration of H. Mubarak has indeed done much to improve the infrastructure and increase electricity generation and the production of metals, cement and other vitally necessary materials. This is all objectively creating conditions for overcoming the crisis.

The trouble is that the moneylenders literally have Egypt by the throat. Neither the United States, nor the IMF nor the IBRD is willing to ease the payments made for loans. They are insisting that the government "improve the economy" in the capitalist manner and cut back on subsidies. The meaning of this demand becomes clear if we consider the fact that ever since the Fifties the Egyptian government has been artificially holding down prices for basic foodstuffs, electricity, gasoline and the use of state transport.

For the financiers who control the affairs of the IMF and the IBRD subsidies are an obvious anomaly. But Egyptian politicians have to look at things differently. They remember that in February of last year a mutiny flared up among soldiers in the internal security forces. At that time 107 people were killed and night clubs were torched near the pyramids, where the local "fat cats" live and where the tourists go. Traces of the fires can be seen to this day at some homes. They serve as a graphic warning of the unstable boundary between endless patience and the fury of blind protest by the unfortunate.

But was this event really spontaneous? The trial is still in progress and there is still no clear-cut answer to this question. On the other hand, however, after this mutiny there was a slump at the video clubs and the stores selling liquor and imported goods and at the variety clubs. Many regard the unrest among the soldiers and these recent sallies as a phenomenon associated with the activity of Muslim extremists.

The "Islamic factor" shows itself not only in violence... In the noisy bazaar the traders vigilantly watching their trays of wares bring out their prayer mats when the muezzin calls, and make their obeisance. On the city streets you see more women in the yashmak, dark shawls are more in evidence everywhere, and you often see gloves on women's hands in the 40-degree heat.

The show of religion in some of the population is not only the result of the preaching by the fanatical clergy who dream of proclaiming an Islamic republic. It is also a reaction to the invasion of mass American culture and the uncereceremonious nature of the policy of Washington, which holds in its hands the levers of economic and military pressure and demands that Cairo follow unswervingly in the wake of the Camp David course, which provides for continued cooperation with Israel.

The longer the time that elapses since Camp David the greater the static tension that builds up in Egyptian-Israeli relations. Writing on the pages of the newspaper AL-AHALI the journalist Rifaat al-Sayyid states that "each day brings new shameful consequences from the crime called Camp David."

The nervous backdrop against which contacts between Egypt and Israel take place could be seen, for example, in the following event. In the spring the International Cairo Industrial Trade Fair took place here and Israel participated. This gave the authorities a big headache. Pamphlets appeared in the capital, containing threats from an underground extremist grouping that it would kill anyone who visited the Israeli pavilion, and anyone who collaborated with the Israelis. The police had to strengthen security at the site of the fair and, in addition, at the Israeli embassy.

"It is not enough that the Israeli presence is creating problems from the security standpoint. Because of Israel's participation in the fair all the Arab countries except Sudan have boycotted it" the newspaper SAWT AL-'ARAB complained.

On days when Israeli politicians are visiting the situation becomes even more heated. Thus, when S. Peres was visiting Cairo, representatives of the associate of lawyers publicly burned Israeli and U.S. flags. And at Cairo

University students staged an exhibition of wall newspapers and posters in support of the struggle by the Arabs of Palestine.

Thus, the latter half of the Eighties has in no way mitigated the burden of the problems facing the country. Notwithstanding, the present leadership led by President H. Mubarak has succeeded to some extent in restoring stability to the course being followed by the ship of state following the upheavals typical of the Sadat rule. This is obviously commanding the respect of many Egyptians. In any event, the recent elections to the People's Assembly, even though there was a low voter turnout, again brought the ruling National Democratic Party an overwhelming majority of mandates.

And where is the Egyptian ship of state sailing now? We were able to talk with several public figures and most of them referred to the fact that Cairo's policy remains "a policy of balance" between opposing forces. For example, it is trying to move closer to the other Arab states without breaking with Tel Aviv or renouncing Camp David.

The "special relationship" with the United States is being maintained. Moreover, the U.S. "rapid deployment forces" have the freedom of the desert during joint maneuvers with the Egyptian army. Ships of the 6th Fleet have become frequent guests in Alexandria and other ports. Egyptian troops are outfitted with military equipment from the United States, France and other NATO countries. And at the same time, taking into account the mood of Egyptians, Cairo has sharply criticized the deliveries of U.S. weapons to Iran and is increasingly candid in its dissatisfaction with Washington's pro-Israeli strategy. On this plane it is worth noting that Egypt has unambiguously expressed its support for the convening of an international conference on the Near East.

Within the framework of the "policy of balance" new factors are also entering into the development of links between Egypt and the USSR. The sharp cooling in relations with the Soviet Union at Sadat's wish was stupid, one of our interlocutors said quite openly. Egyptians have not forgotten the Aswan or the plants that Soviet people helped to build on their land. And this is why the fact that Soviet specialists are again working on some cooperation projects has been met with approval. Great interest was evoked in the signing of the protocol to settle the loan accounts between the two countries. Since, unlike Washington, Moscow does not link the question of debt to political demands, prospects have opened up for expanding Soviet-Egyptian contacts since the protocol was signed, the newspaper AL-SIYASI has noted.

In short, while remaining within the orbit of U.S. influence Cairo is trying to make its policy more weighed. And this means, in particular, that the climate of Soviet-Egyptian relations is becoming more propitious.

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CSO: 1807/275

OMANI MINISTER CITED ON TIES WITH USSR

PM171811 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 May 87 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Zhukov dispatch: "Omani Meetings"]

[Excerpt] Muscat-Algiers--...You can see the sea from the window of the office of the head of the sultanate's Ministry of Information, which is situated atop a hill in the young and rapidly growing Kuruma district of the Omani capital. Dry cargo ships, fishing seiners, supertankers, and the legendary dhow sailboats built to a 9th-century design ply the narrow Gulf of Oman, turning it during peak hours into something like a floating version of the Moscow beltway. "The sea is the cradle of Oman, our past, present, and future are linked to it," the owner of the office -- A'bd al-'Aziz Ibn Muhammad al-Rawwas, Omani minister of information -- said, thoughtfully gazing out to sea. "It fed our forefathers, and we pin our hopes on it today too."

My detailed conversation with the minister touched on various problems-- international, domestic, political, and economic.

What is of particular concern to Omanis today? Naturally, problems that are close to home -- first and foremost the Iran-Iraq conflict. Maintaining its traditional neutrality over the conflict and advocating the speediest cessation of hostilities between the warring sides and the peaceful resolution of disputes, the country's leadership is increasingly recognizing the need not only to talk about peace in the region but to take specific and practical steps in that direction.

As a member of the United Nations, the Gulf Cooperation Council, the Nonaligned Movement, and the Islamic Conference Organization, Oman advocates the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Palestinian territories, the ending of provocations against Lebanon, the guaranteeing of conditions for peace in Lebanon, the development of all communities, and the ending of civil war.

The topic of the prospects for the relations established slightly more than a year ago between Oman and our country took pride of place in my talk with the minister of information.

"The need for relations and contacts between the two countries was prompted by life itself. Today in international policy it would be historically wrong for Oman to put all its eggs in one basket. Yes, we have close ties with Britain, the United States, and other developed capitalist countries. But we are very well aware of the Soviet Union's enormous role and its influence in international affairs. Moreover, the Soviet leadership's new political course and M.S. Gorbachev's peace initiatives are more flexible than the USSR's opponents, and the colossal changes taking place in your country are simply admirable. Although, unfortunately, we still know so little about each other, we see Soviet people as worthy partners with whom we are ready and willing to do business."

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CSO: 1807/317

BRIEFS

INDIANS CONTRACT FOR CASTING TECHNOLOGY—Upon signing a contract with the All-Union Association Licensintorg the Indian company, Eastman Industries, obtained the right to use Soviet investment casting technology, which the Rostov Scientific and Research Mechanical Engineering Institute (Rost-NIITM) designed and which has been bought by the FRG and Italy too. The annual capacity of the largest foundry operating in the USSR is 3,500 tons of investment castings. The high level of mechanization and automation of the process allows the use of small quantities of cheap materials when making patterns and moulds for the mass production of automobile, tractor, combine and other machinery parts. [Text] [Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 3, 1987 p 16] [COPYRIGHT: "Vneshnyaya trgovlya", 1987, English translation, "Foreign Trade", 1987] /8309

CSO: 1812/208

SOVIET-MOZAMBIQUE FRIENDSHIP TREATY MARKS 10TH ANNIVERSARY

PM030953 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Mar 87 First Edition p 3

[Captain S. Kolomnin article: "Following the Road of Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Text] The 10th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Mozambique [PRM] falls on 31 March 1987.

The foundations of Soviet-Mozambican relations were laid way back in the time when Mozambican patriots were waging a national liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism. True to its international duty, the Soviet Union gave all-around support to the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), which headed the struggle for independence in the country. After the attainment of independence and the proclamation of the PRM on 25 June 1975, the USSR was one of the first countries to recognize the young state and establish diplomatic relations with it.

The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation concluded between our countries 31 March 1977 not only sealed the relations of fraternal friendship between the Soviet and Mozambican peoples but also defined ways to develop cooperation in the political, economic, scientific, technical, cultural, education, health, and other spheres on a mutually advantageous basis. Many Soviet specialists are working successfully in various sectors of the Mozambican national economy in accordance with bilateral agreements on economic and technical cooperation concluded within the framework of the treaty. Young Mozambicans -- future doctors, teachers, engineers, agronomists, and cultural workers -- are being trained in Soviet educational institutions. Our country is helping its Mozambican friends to elaborate and implement more than 40 economic projects. Six vocational and technical schools have been constructed and equipped in Mozambique with the USSR's assistance, a floating dock has been commissioned, and work is continuing on an agricultural implements plant in Beira. The ("Mosopeshka") Soviet-Mozambican mixed fishing society is operating successfully, making a considerable contribution to solving the acute food problem in the PRM.

Trade is also developing actively between our countries. The USSR supplies Mozambique with machinery, equipment, oil, petroleum products, consumer goods,

and food and purchases raw materials, cashew nuts, sisal, and tea. The importance of trade ties with our country is indicated by the fact that the Soviet Union accounts for more than one-fourth of PRM foreign trade turnover.

Within the framework of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation the Soviet Union gives Mozambique assistance in strengthening its defense capability. The PRM is a "front-line" state pursuing an independent foreign policy and advocating the elimination of racism and neocolonialism in the region. This gives no rest to the racist rulers of the RSA, which has been pursuing a policy of destabilization and aggression toward the PRM for more than 10 years now.

The Pretoria authorities are particularly irate at the fact that Mozambique's ruling Frelimo Party has firmly declared its choice of a socialist-oriented path and consistently supports the struggle of the RSA patriots against apartheid. The Mozambican leaders have repeatedly emphasized that Soviet aid enables the young state to successfully counter the RSA's aggressive actions and reliably defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity against imperialism's encroachments.

Today the Mozambican people are living through a complex time. The racist RSA is stepping up pressure, cutthroats of the so-called "Mozambique National Resistance," who are in the pay of the RSA, are continuing their subversive activity, and economic difficulties are mounting. The death of S. Machel, founder of the Mozambican state, chairman of the Frelimo Party, and first president of the PRM, who died tragically in an air crash 19 October last year, was a grave loss for the Mozambican people and all their friends. However, S. Machel's death did not create confusion and panic in the country, as Mozambique's enemies had hoped, nor uncertainty as to its own strength.

J. Chissano, who has replaced S. Machel in the top party and state posts, has firmly declared the continuity of the Mozambican leadership's policy and the people's determination to continue building a new society founded on the principles of freedom, equality, and social progress. Mozambique's alliance with the USSR and other socialist countries is fundamental to this. Addressing a session of the newly elected PRM People's Assembly, J. Chissano, chairman of the Frelimo Party and president of the PRM, pointed out that "Mozambique will continue to develop the traditional relations of fraternity and cooperation with socialist countries -- the republic's reliable allies in the cause of defending the homeland and national building."

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